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No. II.

Mary Queen of Scots

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FROM THE TOMB IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

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Mary Queen of Scots

1542–1587

Extracts from the English, Spanish, and Venetian State Papers, Buchanan, Knox, Lesley, Melville, The "Diurnal of Occurrents," Nau, &c. &c.

ARRANGED AND EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY

ROBERT S. RAIT

FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE life of the Queen of Scots presents so many different lines of interest, that, in a volume of the present size, it is necessary to make and adhere to a selection from among the numerous possible varieties of treatment. The attention of the reader has, therefore, been concentrated upon the six active years in Mary's life, from her arrival in Scotland in August 1561, to her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle in June 1567. Documents bearing on the "English Wooing" and the other events of Mary's minority and residence in France have, accordingly, been omitted, except in so far as they are required for an intelligible introduction to the main theme of the book. Most of them, indeed, would be more relevant to a volume having for its subject the history of the Scottish Reformation. It is hoped that such extracts as have been chosen will, with the connecting notes, be sufficient to indicate the position of affairs in 1561. The struggle which had convulsed Scotland for twenty years, was, on its theoretical side, a contest between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. On its practical side, it was a rivalry between two political

parties; the one, headed by the Queen-Dowager, Mary of Guise, and Cardinal Beaton, aiming at the maintenance of the ancient alliance with France; and the other, led by the Protestant nobles and the reformed clergy, striving towards an understanding with England. Before Mary's arrival, the popular, or English Party, had made good its position, and the understanding between the nobles and Queen Elizabeth continued undisturbed. Such wish or power as Mary possessed for the re-establishment of a definite alliance with France, was lessened by her personal dislike to Catharine de Medici, and by her position as nearest heir to the English throne.

The Editor's main aim has been to place before the reader, as fairly as possible, the evidence for the divergent views of Mary's life and character. For this purpose, considerable space has been devoted to the Conferences at York and Westminster, in 1568 and 1569, which, although themselves outside the period specially chosen, yet refer to the events that fall within it. The selection of extracts has also been influenced by a desire to give prominence to the condition of Scotland at the time, and to the religious difficulty associated with the person of John Knox; while an attempt has been made to bring into relief the personality of the rival queens.

The Editor desires to acknowledge the courtesy of the Right Reverend Monsignor Chisholm, Rector of Blairs College, Bishop-Designate of Aberdeen, who

has sanctioned the reproduction of the Blairs portrait. He has also to acknowledge the assistance of Professor W. L. Davidson of Aberdeen; Mr. Herbert Fisher, Fellow of New College; and the Editor of the series, who have read the proof-sheets. Mr. Swinburne's translation of Mary's last poem (p. 302) is printed by kind permission, and Mr. T. F. Henderson has allowed the Editor to use the Documents first printed in his "Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots."

R. S. R.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,
February 1899.

PREFATORY NOTE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

ADVANTAGE has been taken of the gratifying call for a new edition, to make several important additions to the volume. These include an introduction (inserted to meet the desire of several reviewers); the text of all the contemporary English versions of the Casket Letters; and several letters written by Queen Mary during her captivity, which, it is hoped, will render the last section more adequate. The book has also been revised throughout. The Editor begs to acknowledge valuable suggestions from many friends and reviewers, and especially from Mr. D. Hay Fleming.

R. S. R.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,
October 1899.

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INTRODUCTION

THE title of the present volume will serve to indicate that, in some respects, it may be regarded as a departure from the general plan of the series of "History from Contemporary Writers." It deals rather with a person than with a period, and its chief aim is to supply the reader with material for forming a judgment on a single historical controversy, rather than to sketch "the religious, social, and intellectual movements" that affected Scotland within the limits of the years that appear upon the title-page. The changes that took place in the thought and feeling of the people of Scotland during that memorable epoch were too varied in their scope and origin, and have been too far-reaching in their results, to afford an opportunity of representing them in any serious way without devoting an entire volume to the subject. The Editor's task has been widely different, and he has not attempted to add to its inherent difficulties by any excursion into extraneous ground, beyond an effort to give the reader some insight into the prevailing "atmosphere" of Scotland during Mary's sojourn in it. The interest and importance of this side of the history of the reign have not been (at all events, wilfully) ignored; but the plan of the book has compelled the Editor to give it purely subsidiary consideration. Nor can there be,

here, any attempt to offer an adequate explanation of the condition of Scotland. The story itself speaks, eloquently enough, of the fierceness and the barbarity of the times; of the greed and cruelty of the nobles, unredeemed by any feeling of sympathy for the girl who was called upon to play so perilous a part; of the bigotry of opposing faiths, and the intolerance of factions, whose quarrels were to the death. How all this came to be, and the place of these years in the development of the nation, is a task for an historian whose theme is larger and whose range of illustration is wider than the period itself affords.

The aim of the book, as the title implies, is to give some account, from contemporary sources, of the materials for a biography of Mary Stuart, upon which, during more than three hundred years, so much controversial ingenuity has been expended. The selection of extracts has, therefore, been guided, not only by the personal nature of the book, but also by the fact that what has to be represented is a controversy. There is scarcely an incident in the life of Queen Mary that has not been the subject of debate, from the date of her birth to the closing scene at Fotheringay. From the superabundance of material, the Editor has tried to select the really salient features of the controversy, and to give authorities on both sides. In this introduction some attempt will be made to offer a general guidance in dealing with the material; * but the reader must judge for himself, in any particular instance, which

* *Cf.* also the Appendix,—where references to writers, contemporary and modern, will be found.

of two conflicting statements is the more likely to be correct. Thus, when the Earl of Bedford, writing at the time of Darnley's illness, states that the Queen had sent her physician to attend the King, and Buchanan, after the lapse of some years, in an avowed attack upon Mary, alleges that she "would not suffer so much as a physician once to come at him" (p. 104), some decision must be made as to the probabilities. Again, when two documents, both produced as accusations against Mary, contradict each other, the reader must simply note the fact as part of the difficulty of the subject. At the Conferences which were held in England to determine the question of Mary's participation in Darnley's death, two conflicting statements were made by her accusers regarding the sequence of events immediately before the murder. According to "Murray's Journal" (p. 231), Mary reached Glasgow on January 23, 1567, and Bothwell, on the night of the 24th, "tuik journey towards Lyddisdaill," going seventy miles from Edinburgh, to Hermitage Castle. According to the "Deposition of Paris" (p. 233), he (Paris), two days after Mary's arrival in Glasgow, was sent by her to Bothwell in Edinburgh, and Bothwell sent him back again next day. There is a difficulty here, and the exact date, even of Mary's arrival in Glasgow,* is not certainly known. By controversialists on one side this contradiction is regarded as rendering both documents open to grave suspicion, while their opponents consider such discrepancies as testifying to the absence

* Probably, she left Edinburgh on the 20th.

of collusion, and as rather increasing than diminishing confidence when viewed in accordance with the laws of evidence. No valid inference can be made without a careful consideration of the whole case; and for the Editor to point to a conclusion would be to abandon the impartial position which he has scrupulously tried to maintain. Even to draw attention to such contradictions would lead inevitably to special pleading; and the extracts, as they stand, must simply be left to the reader's judgment.

In what is now to be said by way of introduction to the main lines of the controversy, a general knowledge of the facts of the reign is assumed. The problem lies in the interpretation of these facts. The central question is the murder of Darnley. According to one view, it was the result of a conspiracy between Bothwell and Mary. Those who hold this position lay stress upon the ill-will which existed between husband and wife; on Darnley's bad behaviour towards Mary; on Bothwell's acquittal; on his seizure of Mary's person, and on their subsequent marriage. Above all, they rely upon the Casket Letters, alleged to be communications from Mary to Bothwell. If these are genuine, their case is amply and unquestionably established. If they are forgeries, Mary's innocence is not proved, although it is rendered more probable by the existence of (*ex hypothesi*) forged letters. We shall, therefore, in the first place, disregard the evidence of the letters altogether, as their importance demands a separate treatment.

The argument of Mary's defenders requires a fuller statement, because it rests upon a continuous view of the reign. According to this theory, the formula of the question is a consistent attempt of the Protestant nobles to render impossible a Roman Catholic queen. The motive assigned is, of course, the retention of the Church lands, which, as Knox said, they had "greedily gripped," thinking that "they would not lack their part of Christ's coat." The supporters of this view point to the personal character of men like the Earl of Morton; to the fact that many of the Scottish nobles were pensioners of Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Murray not excepted; and to the negotiations about Elizabeth's marriage to the Earl of Arran, the next heir to the Scottish throne, which preceded Mary's arrival in Scotland, and which were intended to prejudice her succession. They further regard the reign as a series of attempts to dethrone Mary, of which the two most prominent incidents were the Run-about Raid and the Rizzio murder. It is pointed out that the murder of Rizzio could easily have been perpetrated elsewhere, that the actual circumstances suggest an intention of indirectly affecting Mary's own life, and that the plan contemplated the Queen's imprisonment, with Darnley as nominal ruler. This part of the scheme was defeated by Mary's winning over her fickle husband to her side.

Having regard to these points, the defenders of the Queen remark that, by Scots law, she could rescind, up to her twenty-fifth birthday, all grants of land made during her minority. This provision had caused very considerable trouble to some of her predecessors, and,

as Mary attained her twenty-fifth year in 1567, the crisis was fast approaching. It is, therefore, argued that, every other plan having failed, it became clear that Mary must first be ruined in reputation, if she was to be ruined at all. There was obvious disagreement between her and her husband, and these very nobles had strong reasons for desiring, on other grounds, to get rid of him. Darnley had never been popular; he had deserted and betrayed his accomplices in the Rizzio plot (pp. 72–80); and he had urged the Queen not to permit them to return from exile. Those, then, who do not believe that the murder of the King was the result of Mary Stuart's guilty love for the Earl of Bothwell, explain it as an effort of the nobles, led by Morton, to achieve the double purpose of avenging themselves upon Darnley, and destroying the Queen's position by throwing the blame upon her. For this end, they tell us, the nobles employed the ambitious Bothwell as an easy tool. They made sure their work by strangling Darnley (p. 113), and then blew up Kirk of Field with gunpowder to proclaim to the world that it was a murder. Those who argue in this way lay much stress on the bond recommending Bothwell as Mary's husband (p. 116), and on the circumstance that, when he seized her, no one came to her relief (p. 118). They also remind us that the nobles took up arms, in the first instance, merely to save the Queen from Bothwell (p. 136), and that, in the sequel, one after another of the Queen's accusers was himself accused, by his comrades, of participation in the murder, while the Earl of Morton was actually put to death for the crime

which, he had attempted to persuade Elizabeth's commissioners, was the work of Mary and Bothwell.

It has been necessary, for a fair statement of the case, to put the whole of this view of the reign before the reader. But it must be remembered that, while those who adopt the other explanation would take objection to the preliminary part of this reasoning, they are not directly concerned to disprove it. It may be that all this ill-feeling to Mary and to Darnley existed and had been manifested in those ways, and yet that the murder was not the work of Morton, but was due to Mary's passion for Bothwell. The *crux* of the question, for them, lies in the attitude of Mary to Darnley and to Bothwell during the period that elapsed between the murder of Rizzio and Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle. We must, therefore, discover what authorities there are to guide us through this critical time, independently of whatever opinion we have formed about the antecedent probabilities on which one side lays such importance.

There are four main sources of information, and extracts from each of them will be found in sections IV. and V. In the first place, we have George Buchanan (*cf.* p. 319). It must be remembered that he held a brief against the Queen, and that he wrote with the express purpose of prejudicing her case with people who could not know the circumstances. He regarded himself as an advocate retained by the Queen's enemies, and his duty was to leave the strongest possible impression of her wickedness. Queen Mary's own letters must be subjected to a careful scrutiny, and each reader must decide for

himself what importance to attach to their statements. The letters of the ambassadors are very valuable; but their value in any particular instance depends upon the place, time, and purpose of their writing. The most impartial contemporary authority is the anonymous author of the "Diurnal of Occurrents." Let us examine their testimony.

Writers like Hume and the late Professor Froude have assigned much importance to the passion for Bothwell which, in their view, guided the Queen's actions. The ultimate source of this opinion is Buchanan's "Detection"; but more recent writers are not necessarily committed to the statements there, some of which may be fairly described as, at all events, grossly exaggerated. Buchanan and the "Book of Articles" (*cf.* p. 144) make a number of very serious allegations; and, along with the statements thus made, the text contains conflicting contemporary evidence, and the reader must again decide whether the Alloa story and the scandal about the Ride to Hermitage rest upon any sure foundation. Further, he must give due weight to the reports of the Craigmillar Conference, to the restoration of the consistorial jurisdiction, and to Mary's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow (p. 109). It is obvious that this chain of events, and also Mary's conduct while with Darnley at Glasgow and Edinburgh, may be explained on either hypothesis. In the one case, it is a story of hate of Darnley and love of Bothwell combining to rule all the Queen's actions and leading her into a deliberate treachery which is singularly repellent. In the other case, it is admitted that, at Craigmillar,

the Queen gave her nobles to understand that her husband had irreconcilably offended her; but it is held that, as time passed without any action being taken, the Queen, softened by Darnley's dangerous illness and by his professions of repentance, determined to give him another chance, as she had already done, more than once, to her rebellious nobles.

Similarly, the events immediately following the murder, bear a double interpretation. Controversialists on the one side hold that Bothwell was acquitted because of Mary's favouring him; on the other side, that he owed his acquittal to his being tried by his fellow-conspirators. The connecting note on pp. 114–115 should be read carefully on this point. So, again, with the capture of Mary by Bothwell: was it collusive or not? The extract from the Spanish State Papers on p. 119 is the most detailed account; but it was written from London, and cannot be accepted without question. Mary's demeanour after the Bothwell marriage, and at Carberry Hill, must also be taken into account as bearing on the question of her feelings towards her third husband.

So far, it is entirely a case of circumstantial evidence, and largely of interpretation of character. All the passages in the earlier sections, and in the last section, that give indications of the Queen's character should be carefully read. The evidence regarding Chatelar and Rizzio will be found very clearly and fully stated in Mr. Hay Fleming's "Mary Queen of Scots," pp. 312–314 and 398–401. It should be added that nothing can be safely inferred from the existence of scandals. It was impossible that any

woman in Mary's position could avoid them; and no one who is familiar with contemporary records, and, especially, with the rumours that were currently accepted regarding Queen Elizabeth, will consider the mere existence of adverse reports as giving any indication whatsoever. The letters of ambassadors are least of all to be trusted in this connection; for it was part of their office to record for the amusement of one Court the scandal of another, and English agents in Scotland were naturally subjected to a special temptation. The evidence must be very strictly scrutinised, and no serious judgment on the whole question can be formed without a careful appreciation of the character of the central figure as well as of the many interesting personalities that surround her.

It is certainly a wonderful picture, full of dramatic suggestion, and rich in light and shade. Seldom do we find gaiety so mingled with tragedy, or laughter so conjoined with sternness of purpose, as in the tale of those six Scottish years. The subordinate characters are all worthy of the scene—the eager, calculating Cecil, ruling and knowing everything, and only baulked by Elizabeth's whimsical fondness for the favourite Leicester: the gossip Randolph, attracted despite himself by the woman against whom it was his duty to plot, and atoning for his temporary aberrations by doubling his intrigues: the bigot Lindsay: the wayward, dissipated, vain, and selfish boy, and the brave, stupid, strong-handed Border noble, each alike serving to throw into relief the character with whom they were most closely associated: the ambitious Morton, recoiling from no crime if only it implied treachery: Kirkaldy

of Grange, the flower of Scottish chivalry and the last mediæval knight: Maitland of Lethington, far surpassing the men of his day in political wisdom, but a dreamer of dreams and with the weakness of the peacemaker in an age of strife: the subtle, shrewd intellect of Murray, whose character is not less difficult to realise than is that of his sister herself, but upon whom John Knox could preach a funeral sermon from the text: "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." Towering above his contemporaries is the heroic figure of Knox,—rugged, stern, obstinate, fearless, of steadfast purpose, determined to create, in this age of cruelty and treachery and lust, the witness of a light which was from above.

Finally, we have the two protagonists themselves—Elizabeth of England, the spoiled child of fortune, masculine enough to make men fear her, feminine enough to make men admire her, but neither masculine nor feminine enough to make them love her, possessing as her richest political endowment the knowledge that just those qualities which are usually fatal to a prince—indecision of temper and vacillation of mind—were her strongest weapons. Then comes her rival—the most difficult puzzle of all to solve. What part on this crowded stage did she play? If she was bad, she was a woman dangerous as few women have been dangerous: clever enough to hide her cleverness: concealing deep-laid plots under a gay prattle of conversation and an artless correspondence adorned with platitude and copy-book maxims: playing with life and death with the innocence of a child: a woman magical with an evil magic: employing a nature richly dowered with charm solely for the

gratification of the lusts of the flesh. If she was good, she was a woman not remarkable for strong intellectual power; but possessed of a personality almost unique in history, and a winning grace that few were strong enough to resist: a womanly woman, desirous of taking life as lightly as might be: trusting implicitly till she found herself deceived, and ever afterwards suspicious: kindly and generous, but capable of a feminine bitterness, the gratification of which cost her much: maintaining always, and in all circumstances, as one of those who knew her said, "that enchantment wherewith men are bewitched."

Something like this brief psychological analysis each reader must construct for himself from his reading of the circumstantial evidence, and on some careful generalisation his view of the whole subject must be based. The direct evidence is limited in extent; and its credibility depends largely upon our estimate of the character of the men who brought it, and of those against whom it was brought. Apart from the Ainslie Bond (p. 116), and a dying "Confession" of Bothwell, which recent criticism has practically discredited, there is no direct evidence on the Queen's side. Her accusers, however, produced the famous series of documents known as the Casket Letters.* To these we now turn.

* The reader should compare here the account of the letters on pp. 162–164. Space forbids more than an indication of the various lines of argument, and those who wish to study the subject in detail should read Hosack's "Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers," and Henderson's "Casket Letters and Mary Stuart." Almost the only other direct evidence consists of the various depositions (pp. 225–239). The most important of these are the two Depositions of Paris (pp. 233–236); and the reader must decide for himself what credit to attach to these documents.

In the history of the criticism of the Casket Letters, there is a strongly-marked dividing line, which has been produced by recent discoveries; and the attacks of Goodall and Hosack (*cf.* pp. 326, 327) upon the genuineness of the documents must, in some respects, be very profoundly modified by any future writer upon their side. The impeachment of the letters rested mainly on the following grounds. According to the statement of Morton, they were found in June 1567, but were not produced till the Conference at York in October 1568, and they remained meanwhile in the unscrupulous hands of Morton, who, further, had access to all the Queen's letters and documents, which would be most valuable to a forger. Mary was not in the habit of corresponding in Scots; yet, the quotations sent by the Commissioners at York to Queen Elizabeth (pp. 141–143) were in Scots, although the English Queen read French much more readily. It was argued from this that the Scots versions were produced as originals at York, and the French versions as originals at Westminster. The only French versions known to Goodall were those which are referred to as "Published French" in Section VII.; and some of these were traced to the Scots version by several tests,—*e.g.* in the sentence in Letter II. where the Scots has, "I am irkit and ganging to sleip," the Published French reads, "Je suis toute nüe, et m'en vay coucher," the translator mistaking "irkit" for "nakit." The inference was, accordingly, made that the so-called French "original" was translated from the Scots, and that, therefore, the letters are certainly forgeries. Stress was further laid upon the circum-

stances of the production of the letters, and on the fact that Mary and her representatives were denied access either to originals or to copies. Attention has also been called to the fact that Gusman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, writing from London in August 1567, mentioned that the Scottish nobles claimed to have a letter in which Mary promised to poison Darnley on his way from Glasgow to Edinburgh (p. 127), while no such letter was produced. Again, at York, Murray and Morton produced a letter arranging a duel between Darnley and the Lord Robert, Mary's brother (p. 140). This letter was neither produced nor mentioned at Westminster, and it has never been seen or heard of since.

All this will be found very fully and ably discussed in the first volume of Hosack's "Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers," where the letters themselves are subjected to a very minute analysis,—*e.g.* it is pointed out that Letter VIII. refers to Huntly as Bothwell's "brother-in-law that was" (p. 210), although it purports to have been written before the divorce of Bothwell and Lady Jean Gordon. Space forbids our stating more of this train of reasoning, except to mention Hosack's suggestion that some of the letters are genuine letters to Darnley, interpolated by the forgers. Thus, he argues that Letter IV. is a quite harmless letter in the "Published French" (which alone was known to him), while the Scots introduced the suspicious words "Mak gude watch, gif the burd eschaip out of the caig." Again, in Letter III., the writer refers to a secret marriage about to be made public; and there is some ground

for believing that Mary was privately married to Darnley. Hosack, therefore, did not assert that all the letters were complete forgeries, and all the originals Scots; but that Letters I., II., VI., VII., and VIII. are mainly forgeries, although the forgers may have used actual letters of the Queen, while Letters III., IV., and V. are genuine letters to Darnley adapted for this new purpose.

A considerable proportion of this reasoning must still be taken into account in forming an opinion on the controversy; but the early part of it requires an entire re-statement. First of all, with regard to the interval between the professed discovery of the letters and their production, Major Martin Hume has found in the Spanish Papers a statement that Du Croc, who was French ambassador in Scotland, had in his possession, in July 1567, copies of letters proving that Mary had been concerned in the murder of her husband (p. 125). There is, of course, nothing to show that these were the letters actually produced; and, on the hypothesis of forgery, it is still open to Mary's defenders to argue that forged letters were the nobles' most obvious instruments, and that drafts of such letters could have been prepared at any time after the murder or the capture. Again, Mr. T. F. Henderson was the first to examine the declaration, made by Morton to the English Commissioners, about the circumstances of his finding the letters. The most important statement here made is that, immediately after their discovery, they were examined in the presence of the Earls of Atholl, Mar, Glencairn, and Morton,

the Lords Home, Sempill, Sanquhar, the Master of Graham, Maitland of Lethington, and some others (p. 223). Mr. Henderson admits that no confidence can be placed in Morton's words, but he asks, if there was no such examination, why did not a man like the Earl of Mar, who was not involved in any conspiracy, deny Morton's statement, and why did Maitland of Lethington not refute it when he had definitely joined the Queen's side? The question is a critical one; but it is only fair to add that Morton's Confession was a private document, handed over to the Commissioners in 1568, and not known to the public till the publication of Mr. Henderson's volume; that, in the accounts of the discovery of the letters published, at the instance of Mary's accusers, by Buchanan, and in their official "Book of Articles," there is no hint of any such examination, although it would have greatly increased public confidence in the genuineness of the letters; that the Earl of Mar was in Scotland when Morton made this private statement at Westminster, and there is no evidence that he, or any of the others whose names inspire confidence, knew of the existence of Morton's Declaration; and that, while Lethington was certainly present, we know that "railing letters" afterwards passed between him and Morton with reference to the murder of Darnley (p. 241), and we cannot be sure that this point was not raised. The reader's decision on the probabilities of such a succession of conjectures must largely depend upon his general view of the case and his impression of the men who are concerned.

The Editor's aim is only to state impartially what may be said on both sides. No defender of Queen Mary has as yet replied to Major Martin Hume and Mr. Henderson, and in this way the task of supplying a fair summary is rendered more difficult.

We must now pass to the question of the original language of Letters I., II., VI., VII., and VIII. The opponents of Goodall and Hosack have always declined to believe that the Scots letters shown to the English Commissioners at York were produced as originals; but it is now agreed that Goodall was right in regarding the Published French version,—*e.g.* of Letter II.—as derived from the Scots. But it was shown by Malcolm Laing, in the beginning of this century, that many expressions in the Scots seem to have come from a French original,—*e.g.* "my first journay" on p. 178. More recently, English translations of Letters I. and II., and French versions of Letters III. and V., have been discovered in the Record Office, and English translations and French versions of Letters IV. and VI. at Hatfield. The real importance of these consists in the modification, on the one hand, of Hosack's theory as to Letters I., II., and VI., and, on the other hand, of his conjecture with regard to Letter V.

For purposes of illustration let us take the famous Glasgow Letter (No. II.). Hosack's explanation of it was that the Scots is the original, and that the French was derived from the Scots. But the English translation in the Record Office differs in numerous important points from the Scots, and must certainly have been derived from another source (*cf.* pp. 168–191). The published French

and Latin in almost every instance follow the Scots, and it can scarcely be doubted that the English version is taken from a French "original" which is now lost. A similar remark applies to Letter I. and to Letter VI. With regard to the other side of Hosack's argument,—*viz.* that Letter IV. is a genuine letter of Mary to Darnley, into the Scots version of which the words "Mak gude watch," which do not occur in the published French or Latin versions, had been introduced by the forgers,—a similar modification is rendered necessary, for the suspicious phrase is found in the French and English versions in the possession of the Marquis of Salisbury. So far, then, as the attack upon the letters involved a denial that any French versions which were, or purported to be, the originals did ever actually exist, the defenders of Queen Mary must abandon their position. This particular part of the controversy is definitely settled. The fact that Morton did produce French letters, which he alleged to be written by Queen Mary, is not, of course, in itself decisive; but it would exceed the limits of the present introduction to do more than record the fact, and leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

The ultimate court of appeal, for most readers will probably be, as we have already indicated, their own interpretation of the problem as a whole. Especially is this the case with the long Glasgow Letter, with which all the others must stand or fall. It has been vigorously impugned, particularly on account of its resemblance to Crawford's "Deposition" (p. 226); but the deposition may, of course,

have been derived from the letter, and it is, if not more logical, at all events more really convincing to decide how far the second letter can reasonably be attributed to Queen Mary. Some writers assure us that it is much too clever to be forged, even by such men as Buchanan and Maitland; others consider Mary Stuart's writing it to be "a psychological impossibility." In the case of so intricate a controversy, when so much depends upon mere conjecture, it is scarcely possible to attain mathematical certainty or logical precision, and it is on this account that we have insisted so strongly upon the wisdom of attempting to secure a general appreciation of the men and the manners of that troubled time. If it was a psychological impossibility for a woman of Mary's character to write that letter, there is an end of the matter; and if it bears its genuineness on its face, there is equally a moral certainty. Either hypothesis is of value only as it is based on a careful estimate of the whole situation, and such an estimate is worth a thousand refutations of incidental arguments or particular theories put forward on either side. We must rest satisfied with Bishop Butler's assurance that "probability is the very guide of life"; only, we must not too readily decide as to what is probable.

There remains a possibility which it may be useful to indicate. Possibly both sides are right. It is just conceivable that the murder of Darnley may have been the result of a plot among Mary's discontented nobles to revenge themselves on her husband and ruin herself, while it may also have

been the result of a conspiracy between Mary and Bothwell. That is to say, the two plots may have been evolved simultaneously, the only person who was implicated in both being Bothwell. This would explain a number of contradictions in the story, and it would certainly add to the dramatic effect of the situation if Mary were thus working out, outside their knowledge and beyond their highest expectations, the schemes of her deadliest foes. But, on the other hand, any such theory is exposed to most of the objections that have been raised against either explanation.

Here the task of introduction must end. An impartial statement of an intricate historical problem cannot possibly be amusing, but it may, perhaps, be useful. One cannot but feel, however, that among other disadvantages, it must come dangerously near inviting the reader to

> "Learn one lesson hence,
> Of many which whatever lives should teach:
> This lesson, that our human speech is naught,
> Our human testimony false, our fame
> And human estimation words and wind."

It has, therefore, been the Editor's aim to direct the reader's attention beyond the words and the testimony to the living men and women, and to ask him ultimately to base his judgment upon some appreciation of these.

ERRATA

Page 6, line 18, *for* "June" *read* "July."
„ 169, „ 11, *after* "what the body" *insert* "may."
„ 171, „ 10, *after* "to meet me" *insert* "and he told me."
„ 174, „ 29, *for* "quhais" *read* "quhair."
„ „ „ 30, *for* "that" *read* "and."
„ 175, „ 10, *after* "the very words," *read* "and then he said that Minto sent him word."
„ 179, „ 21, *after* "Sunderland," *read* "without touching any word unto."
„ 259, footnote, *for* "took" *read* "was generally believed to have taken."
„ 315, line 6, *for* "we" *read* "me."

[For several of these alterations in the very confused English text of the Casket Letters, acknowledgments are due to the second volume of Mr. Bain's "Calendar of Scottish Papers," which has appeared since these pages were printed off."]

LINLITHGOW PALACE, QUEEN MARY'S BIRTHPLACE.

To face page 1.

Mary Queen of Scots

SECTION I

FROM MARY'S BIRTH TO HER RETURN TO SCOTLAND FROM FRANCE

CONTENTS

1. Lindsay's account of her birth and her father's death.
2. Her education and character in France.
   (*a*) Letter of the Privy Council of Scotland.
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5. The disputed clause in the Treaty of Edinburgh.
6. Act of the Scots Parliament establishing the Reformation.
7. Quotations from the English and Venetian diplomatic correspondence narrating
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   (*c*) The attempt to capture Mary on her way to Leith.

The Birth of the Queen.

Lindsay of Pitscottie: History of Scotland, Ed. of 1778, p. 275.

[Mary was born at Linlithgow on December 8th, 1542. Her father, James V., was dying at Falkland, broken-hearted after the defeat at Solway Moss. The reference in the following

passage is, of course, to the succession of the House of Stewart to the Crown, through Marjory Bruce. King James died on December 14th.

By this the post came to the King out of Linlithgow, showing to him good tidings, that the Queen was delivered. The King enquired whether it was a man-child or a woman. The messenger said: "It is a fair daughter." The King answered: "Adieu, farewell; it came with a lass and it will pass with a lass." And so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God, and spake little from that time forth, but turned his back unto his lords, and his face unto the wall. . . . In this manner he departed. . . . He turned him upon his back, and looked, and beheld all his nobles and lords about him, and gave a little smile of laughter, then kissed his hand, and offered the same to all his nobles round about him; thereafter held up his hands to God, and yielded his spirit to God.

On the death of James V. the Earl of Arran was made Regent, and negotiations were commenced by Henry VIII. for the marriage of the infant Queen of Scots to his son, afterwards Edward VI. After much discussion, a treaty to this effect was concluded in July 1543 between the Scots and English Commissioners. The relations of the two countries, however, almost immediately became strained, and war broke out in the end of the year, and in 1547 a treaty of alliance was made between Scotland and France against England, the Scots to receive French help against the English forces, and to marry their Queen to the Dauphin. Mary landed in France in August 1548. The Earl of Arran was made Duke of Chatelherault by Henry II., but ceased to be Governor of Scotland in April 1554. when the Queen Mother, Mary of Guise, became Regent.

1550.—April. Queen Mary's Life in France—Character of the Queen.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.

Item.—Thereafter the said Master of Erskine shall report to the King [of France], how rejoiced the Queen's Grace and my Lord Governor were of the news of our Sovereign Lady's welfare, and to hear that the King's Highness was so well contented with her Grace, and that she was so able to increase in virtue, and that the King's Majesty takes such consolation, seeing the beginning of her up-bringing to have been so good, that he hopes some day to see his son the husband of one of the most virtuous princes that man can desire: beseeching God of His infinite goodness that His Highness may see not only the thing that his noble heart desires, but also that our Sovereign Lady be after this so endued with the graces of God that she may by her birth [offspring] make his Highness to be called the grandfather of one of the most victorious princes in the world, and king long to reign prosperously over both realms.

Her Education and Accomplishments.

Conaeus. (*Jebb: De Vita ac Rebus*, vol. ii. p. 15.)

Her main course of study was directed towards the attainment of the best European languages. So graceful was her French that the judgment of the most learned men recognised her command of the language; nor did she neglect Spanish or Italian, although she aimed rather at an useful knowledge

than at a pretentious fluency. She followed Latin more readily than she spoke it. The charm of her poetry owed nothing to art. Her penmanship was clear, and (what is rare in a woman) swift. Her excellence in singing arose from a natural, not an acquired, ability to modulate her voice: the instruments she played were the cittern, the harp, and the harpsichord. Being very agile, she danced admirably to a musical accompaniment, yet with beauty and comeliness, for the silent and gentle movement of her limbs kept time to the harmony of the chords. She devoted herself to learning to ride so far as it is necessary for travelling or for her favourite exercise of hunting, thinking anything further more fitted for a man than for a woman. . . . Several tapestries worked by her with wonderful skill are yet to be seen in France, dedicated to the altars of God, especially in the monastery in which she was nurtured on her first arrival in the kingdom.

1558.—April. Mary's Betrothal and Marriage to the Dauphin.

Lesley's History of Scotland (*Bannatyne Club*, pp. 264–5).

All things necessary for the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the Dauphin being prepared, and the whole nobility and estates of the realm being convened at Paris, upon the 20th day of April 1558, in the great hall of the palace of the Louvre, in presence of King Henry of France, of the Queen his wife, and a great number of cardinals, dukes, earls, bishops, and noblemen, the "fianzellis," otherwise called the

handfasting [betrothal], was made with great triumph, by the Cardinal of Lorraine, between the excellent young Prince Francis, eldest son to the most valiant, courageous, and victorious prince, Henry, King of France, and Mary, Queen, inheritor of the realm of Scotland, one of the fairest, most civil and virtuous princesses of the whole world, with great solemnity, triumph, and banqueting; and upon the next Sunday, being the 24th of April, the marriage was solemnised and completed betwixt them by the Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen, in Notre Dame Kirk of Paris; where the Bishop of Paris made a very learned and eloquent sermon, in presence and assistance of the King, Queen, and many prelates, noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen of all estates and callings, with most excellent triumph, and the heralds crying with loud voices three sundry times, "Largess"; casting to the people great quantity of gold and silver of all kinds and sorts of coin, where there was great tumult of people, every one troubling and pressing others for greediness to get some part of the money. After which there were as great solemnities used in the kirk, with as great dignity and reverence as was possible, which being done, they entered into the bishop's palace, where there was a sumptuous and princely dinner prepared for the whole company; and after they had dined, there was used a princely dancing, called the ball royal, to the great comfort and pleasure of all being there present; and how soon the ball was ended, they passed to the great hall of the palace royal, where they supped with so great magnificence, pomp, and

triumph, that none of the assistance there had ever seen the like; and there presently was given to the Dauphin the title of King Dauphin, so that he and the Queen were called the King and Queen Dauphin.

[In connection with the marriage settlements, an assurance was given to the Scots Parliament of the maintenance of its liberties, and of the succession of the nearest heir, in case of Mary's death without issue. (*Acts* ii. 508–519.) But, at the same time, Mary was induced to sign three documents transferring her rights, in case of her decease without issue, to the King of France, his heirs and successors. See Labanoff, "Lettres, Instructiones et Mémoires de Marie Stuart," vol. i. pp. 50–56.]

Events moved rapidly between 1558 and Mary's return to Scotland in 1561. In November 1558 Mary Tudor died, and Henry II. caused Francis and Mary to assume the arms of England. In June 1559 Henry II. died, and Francis II. succeeded. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the Reformation was making progress. In 1557 the Protestants had formed themselves into "the Congregation of the Lord," and signed the National Covenant to abolish Roman Catholicism. After the death of Henry II., when it seemed probable that the Guises would guide the government of Scotland, the discontent broke into open rebellion. The insurgents obtained help from Elizabeth, and proposed a marriage between the English Queen and the Earl of Arran, the heir of the Duke of Chatelherault, who stood next in the order of succession to the Scottish throne. The Queen-Dowager took refuge in Edinburgh Castle, and had the assistance of French troops. The Lords of the Congregation and their English allies commenced the siege of Leith, but with small success. The illness of Mary of Guise led to the conclusion of peace, and to the formulating of the Treaty of Edinburgh, which was the cause of a long dispute between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart.

1560.—June 11. The Death of the Queen Regent.

Lesley's History of Scotland, Dalrymple's Translation, Scottish Text Society, vol. ii. pp. 439–441.

Now the Queen Regent, almost at an end, through force of her sickness, for she was infected with sore sickness, commands all the nobility of both the parties to be brought before her, who were in Edinburgh. And to them she declared and plainly showed the necessity of peace and concord between them, how great it was. She related the old bond of the perpetual friendship that was ever between Scots and French, lately confirmed by the matrimony and marriage of the Queen's daughter, and how or what way they should keep it with all diligence. . . . She affirms it above all things most necessary that they see to it, that as soon as the conditions are agreed upon, both English and French in haste pass out of Scotland, lest that if only the Frenchmen go, the Englishmen come in haste in greater companies upon the Scots borders, and invade them in earnest. All the gentlemen severally she persuades, that before all they remember the privilege of their nation and native country. When she had said this she burst into a torrent of tears. Of those whom she thought she had in any way offended she very gently asks pardon. And to them by whom in any way she was offended she wishes all kindness, gives her blessing, and with all her heart her everlasting benison, as we call it. To show and plainly declare that what she here said was unfeigned, and without all kind of dissimulation,

she receives all her nobles with all pleasure, with a pleasant countenance, and even embraces them with the kiss of love. With all the rest she shakes hands, . . . so that there was none of so hard a heart, or stout a stomach, or adamant a mind in all that company, whom to think of moved not to tears. . . . But the next day, which was Monday, she died and departed this life.

1560.—July. The Treaty of Edinburgh.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 594.

[The Treaty of Edinburgh provided that both the French soldiers who had come to help the Queen Regent, and the English soldiers who aided the insurgents, should leave the kingdom, and it renounced Mary's claim to the throne of England: whether absolutely or only with reference to Elizabeth, is a matter of dispute. The clauses to which Mary objected are here quoted.]

. . . It is agreed that the said most Christian King and Queen Mary, and each of them, abstain henceforth from using the said title and bearing the arms of the kingdom of England or of Ireland, and that they will forbid and prohibit their subjects, so that no one in the kingdom of France and Scotland and their provinces, or in any part of them, do in any way use the said title or arms, and that they will, as far as possible, provide and guard that nobody in any way commingle the said arms with the arms of the kingdoms of France and Scotland.

The Abolition of Roman Catholicism by the Scottish Parliament.

Acts of Parliament of Scotland, August 24, 1560.

Therefore it is statute and ordained in this present Parliament . . . that no manner of person or persons say mass, nor yet hear mass, nor be present thereat, under the pain of confiscation of all their goods, moveable and unmoveable, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the magistrate within whose jurisdiction such persons happen to be apprehended, for the first fault; Banishment from the Realm, for the second fault; and justifying to the deid [*i.e.* capital punishment] for the third fault. And ordains all sheriffs, stewards, baillies, and their deputies, provosts and baillies of burghs, and other judges whatsoever within this realm, to take diligent suit and inquisition within their bounds, where any such usurped ministry is used, mass-saying, or they that be present at the doing thereof, ratifying and approving the same, and take and apprehend them to the effect that the pains above written may be executed upon them.

[There is no instance in which the ultimate penalty was actually inflicted in accordance with the terms of this Act.]

December 15. The Death of Francis II.

Venetian Calendar, vol. vii. December 3, 1560.

Michiel Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate.

On the 1st instant I informed your Serenity that the king was worse, and this last night I wrote that

his life was despaired of. He now still continues lingering without any other hope than in the mercy of God. . . . The whole Court is now constantly engaged at prayers, and processions are being made in all the churches of the city.

December 6.

It has pleased our Lord God that the most Christian King, last night a little before midnight, should pass to a better life, and end the agony in which he lay from Saturday evening until the day of his death.

1560.—December 6. Mary's Devotion to Francis II.

Throckmorton to Elizabeth. Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth.

The 6th of this present, at eleven of the clock at night, he departed to God, leaving as heavy and dolorous a wife, as of right she had good cause to be, who by long watching with him during his sickness, and painful diligence about him, and specially by the issue thereof, is not in best tune of her body, but without danger.

1560.—December 31. Proposals for Mary's Return to Scotland, and for a Second Marriage.

Throckmorton to the Council. Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth.

Now that death hath thus disposed of the late French King, whereby the Scottish Queen is left a widow, one of the special things your Lordships have

to consider, and to have an eye to, is the marriage of that Queen. During her husband's life there was no great account made of her, for that being under bond of marriage and subjection of her husband (who carried the burden and care of all matters) there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death she hath showed (and so continueth) that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling herself and her matters, which, increasing with her years, cannot but turn greatly to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. . . . Immediately upon her husband's death she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, and became so solitary and exempt of all worldliness that she doth not to this day see daylight, and so will continue out forty days.

1561.—June 13. Mary's Intentions Regarding Religion on her Return.

Throckmorton to the Queen. Foreign Calendar, Elisabeth.

"Well," said she [Mary], "I will be plain with you, and tell you what I would all the world should think of me. The religion that I profess I take to be most acceptable to God, and, indeed, neither do I know, nor desire to know, any other. Constancy doth become most folks well, but none better than princes and such as hath rule over realms, and especially in the matter of religion. I have been brought

up in this religion, and who might credit me in anything if I should show myself light in this case?"

Ibid., July 11.

The Queen of Scotland, Queen Dowager of France, desires to obtain the following from her good sister, the Queen of England, and has charged M. D'Oysel to the same effect :—

1. A passport for her, with a clause that if she arrives in any part of England, she may tarry there, and purchase provisions and necessaries, and if it seems good to her, that she may leave her ships and pass by land to Scotland.

2. Another safe conduct for her to pass through England to Scotland with her train, and one hundred horses, mules, &c.

3. Another safe conduct, with commission for the said M. D'Oysel to go and return through England to Scotland.

[D'Oysel had an interview with Elizabeth, who inquired about the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and declined to grant the safe-conduct "except she (Mary) shall first accord to do those things that by her promise, under her hand and seal, she is bound to do."—*Foreign Calendar, July 13th*, 1561.]

1561.—July 26. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth.

Cabala, pp. 345–349.

. . . The 20th of this present, in the afternoon, I had access to the said Queen of Scotland . . . the said Queen sat down, and made me sit also by her; she then commanded all the audience to retire them

further off, and said: Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions, as the Queen, your mistress, was content to have when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysel. There is nothing that doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen, your mistress, that favour which I had no need to ask; I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers; I may well enough pass home into my own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for though the late King, your master (said she), used all the impeachment he could both to stay me and to catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. . . . Let the Queen, your mistress, think that it will be thought very strange amongst all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now being widow, to impeach my going into my own country. I ask her nothing but friendship. I do not trouble her State, nor practise with her subjects; and yet I know there be in her realm that be inclined enough to bear offers; I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither in religion or other things. The Queen, your mistress, doth say that I am young and do lack experience! indeed (quoth she), I confess, I am younger than she is, and do want experience. But I have age enough and experience to use myself towards

my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than it becometh of a Queen, and my next kinswoman. . . . I answered, madam, I have declared unto you my charge commanded by the Queen, my mistress, and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your answer for the ratification of the Treaty. The Queen answered, I have aforetime showed you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet to proceed in this matter, without the advice of the nobles and states of mine own realm, which I can by no means have until I come amongst them. . . . But I pray you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth she), tell me how vieth this strange affection in the Queen, your mistress, towards me? I desire to know it, to the intent that I may reform myself if I have failed. I answered . . . As soon as the Queen, my mistress, after the death of her sister, came to the crown of England, you bore the arms of England diversely quartered with your own, and used in your country notoriously the style and title of the Queen, my mistress, which was never by you put in use in Queen Mary's time. . . . Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (said she), I was then under the commandment of King Henry, my father, and of the King, my lord and husband; and whatsoever was done then by their order and commandments, the same was in like manner continued until both their deaths, since which time, you know, I neither bore the arms nor used the title of England. . . . It were no great dishonour to the Queen my cousin, your mistress, though I, a

Queen also, did bear the arms of England; for, I am sure, some, inferior to me, and that be not on every side so well apparented as I am, do bear the arms of England. You cannot deny (quoth she) but that my grandmother was the King her father's sister, and (I trow) the eldest sister he had. I do assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, and do speak unto you truly as I think, I never meant nor thought matter against the Queen, my cousin. . . . And so I took my leave of the said Queen for that time.

. . . And to the intent I might better decipher, whether the Queen of Scotland did mind to continue her voyage, I did, the . . . 21st of July . . . repair to the said Queen of Scotland to take my leave of her. . . . The said Queen made answer, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, if my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen your mistress's unkindness might stay my voyage; but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust (quoth she) the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England; and if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the Queen your mistress shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me; peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live; in this matter (quoth she) God's will be fulfilled.

1561.—August 12. The Voyage from France to Scotland.

Cecil to the Earl of Sussex. Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 69.

The Scottish Queen was the 10th of this month at Boulogne, and meaneth to take shipping at Calais. Neither those in Scotland nor we here do like her going home. The Queen's Majesty hath three ships in the north seas to preserve the fishers from pirates. I think they will be sorry to see her pass.

Cecil to Throgmorton, August 26. *Hardwicke's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 176.

The 19th of this present, in the morning early, she [Mary] arrived at Leith with her two galleys, her whole train not exceeding sixty persons of meaner sort. . . The Queen's Majesty's ships that were upon the seas to cleanse them from pirates saw her and saluted her galleys, and staying her ships examined them of pirates and dismissed them gently. One Scottish ship they detain, as vehemently suspected of piracy.

From the Charges against the Countess of Lennox in Foreign Calendar, 1562. (May 7.)

She loves not the Queen . . . hearing that the Queen of Scots had passed through the seas, she sat down and gave God thanks, declaring to those by how he had always preserved that Princess at all times, especially now, "for when the Queen's ships were almost near taking of the Scottish Queen, there fell down a mist from heaven that separated them and preserved her."

SECTION II

FROM MARY'S ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND TO THE DARNLEY MARRIAGE

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The Queen's Arrival in Scotland.

Laing's Edition of Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. i. pp. 267–271.

The 19th day of August 1561, betwixt seven and eight hours before noon, arrived Mary, Queen of Scotland, then widow, with two galleys out of France. In her company (besides her gentlewomen, called the Maries) were her uncles, the Duc d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, the Marquess d'Elbeuf. There accompanied her also D'Amville, son to the Constable of France, with other gentlemen of inferior condition, besides servants and officers. The very face of the heaven at the time of her arrival did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her (to wit) sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue: For besides the surface wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts; the sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after. That forewarning, God gave unto us; but alas! the most part were blind. . . . Fires of joy were set forth at night, and a company of most honest men with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber window: The melody (as she alleged) liked her well; and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The Lords repaired to

her from all quarters, and so was nothing understood but mirth and quietness, till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August, when preparations began to be made for that Idol of the Mass to be said in the Chapel; which pierced the hearts of all. The Godly began to bolden, and then began openly to speak, *Shall that Idol be suffered again to take place within this Realm? It shall not.* The Lord Lindsay (then but Master) with the Gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close or yard, *The idolatrous Priests should die the death, according to God's Law.* One that carried in the candle was evil afraid; but then began flesh and blood fully to show itself. There durst no Papist, neither yet any that came out of France, whisper: But the Lord James, the man whom all the Godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the Chapel-door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter in to the Mass; but it was and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept that none should have entry to trouble the Priest, who, after the Mass was ended, was committed to the protection of the Lord John of Coldingham and the Lord Robert of Holyrood House, who then were both Protestants, and had communicate at the Table of the Lord. Betwixt them both was the Priest conveyed to his chamber. And so the Godly departed with grief of heart, and after noon repaired to the Abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification, that they could not abide that the land, which God by His power had purged from Idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again.

Knox's Opinion of the Queen.

Ibid., p. 286.

John Knox his own judgment, being by some of his familiars demanded what he thought of the Queen, said, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me."

1561.—2nd September. The Queen's Public Entry into Edinburgh.

Thomas Randolph to Cecil. Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 63.

Upon Tuesday last she made her entry. She dined in the Castle. The first sight that she saw after she came out of the Castle was a boy of six years of age, that came as it were from heaven out of a round globe, that presented unto her a Bible and a Psalter, and the keys of the gates, and spake unto her the verses which I send you. Then, for the terrible significations of God upon idolatry, there were burnt Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in the time of their sacrifice. They were minded to have a priest burned at the altar, at the elevation. The Earl of Huntly stayed [stopped] that pageant, but hath played many as wicked as that since he came hither. He bare that day the sword.

[The following are the lines to which Randolph referred. As only the first stanza has appeared in print before, the verses are given in their original form.]

HOLYROOD.

A Ballad of Welcome.

Welcome, O Souveraine! Welcome, O natyve Quene!
Welcome to us your subiects great and small!
Welcome, I say, even from the verie splene,*
To Edinburgh your syttie principall.
Whereas your people with harts both one and all
Doth here[in] offer to your excellence
Two proper volumes † in memoriall
As gyfte most gainand ‡ to a godlie prince.

Wherein your Grace may reade to understande
The perfett waye unto the hevennes hie,
And how to Rule your subiects and your land,
And how your kingdom stablished shalbe,
Judgment and wysdome therein shall ye see.
Here shall you find your God his due commande,
And who the contrarie does wilfullie,
How them he threatens with his scurge and wand.

Ane gyfte more precious cold § we none present
Nor yet more needefull to your Excellence,
Qwylk || is Gode's lawes his words and testament
Trewlie translate with frutefull diligence,
Qwylk to accepte with humble reverence

* Spleen.

† The volumes were a Bible and a Psalter "coverit with fine purpour velvet." *Cf.* the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, September 2, 1561, which gives some additional details, and mentions that the child "delivered also to her hieness three writings, the tenour whereof is uncertain."

‡ Gainful. § Could. || Which.

The Provist present most hartelie you exorte
With the hole subiects due obedience,
Together with the keyes of their porte.

In signe that they * and all that they possess
Bodie and good shall ever reddie be
To serve you as their souveraine hie mistress
Both daye and [night] after thair bound dutie:
Besechinge † your Grace in this necessitie
Thair [too] shorte tyme and [their] godwill‡ consether§
Accepte their harts and take it pacientlie
That may be done, seing all is yours together.

Illustrations of the Religious Difficulty—Proclamation regarding Religion.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, August 26, 1561.

Forasmuch as the Queen's Majesty has understood the great inconveniences that may come through the division presently standing in this realm for the difference in matters of religion, that her Majesty is most desirous to see pacified by a good order, to the honour of God and the tranquillity of her realm, and means to take the same by the advice of her Estates as soon as conveniently may be; and that her Majesty's godly resolution therein may be greatly hindered in case any tumult or sedition be raised among the lieges, if any sudden innovation or alteration be pressed or attempted before that the order may be established. Therefore . . . her Majesty

* MS. to them.
† Beseeching.
‡ Goodwill.
§ Consider.

ordains letters to be directed to charge all and sundry, lieges, . . . that none of them take upon hand, privately or openly, to make any alteration or innovation of the state of religion, or attempt anything against the form which her Majesty found public and universally standing at her Majesty's arrival in this her realm, under the pain of death, . . . Attour, her Majesty, by the advice of the Lords of her Secret Council, commands and charges all her lieges, that none of them take upon hand to molest or trouble any of her domestic servants or persons whomsoever come forth of France, in her Grace's company, at this time, in word, deed, or countenance . . . under the said pain of death. . . .

1561.—November 1. The Queen's first High Mass.

Thomas Randolph to Cecil. Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 83.

Upon All Hallow Day the Queen had a song mass. That night one of her priests was well beaten for his reward by a servant of the Lord Robert's. We look to have it proclaimed again that no man, under pain of confiscation of goods and lands here, say or come unto her own mass, saving her own household, that came out of France. . . .

It is now called in question whether that the Princess being an idolater may be obeyed in all civil and politic[al] actions. I think marvellously of the wisdom of God that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more substance than they have, for then would they run wild.

Popular Songs.

[The stanzas which follow are selected from the popular songs of the period. They date from a year or two before Mary's arrival in Scotland, but will serve to illustrate the extreme difficulty experienced by a Roman Catholic queen in dealing with such a people.]

The Gude and Godly Ballates. Reprint of 1868, p. 153.

The hunt is up, the hunt is up,*
It is now perfect day,
Jesus, our King, is gone in hunting,
Who likes to speed, they may.

A cursed fox lay hid in rocks
This long and many a day,
Devouring sheep, while he might creep,
None might him scare away.

It did him good to lap the blood
Of young and tender lambs;
None could he miss, for all was his,
The young ones with their dams.

The hunter is Christ, that huntis in haste,
The hounds are Peter and Paul;
The Pope is the fox, Rome is the rocks,
That rubs us on the gall.

Ibid.

The Pope, that pagan full of pride,
He has us blinded long;
For where the blind the blind does guide,
No wonder they go wrong;

* *Original reads*, With huntis up.

Like prince and king, he led the ring
Of all iniquity;
"Hay trix, tryme go trix,"
Under the greenwood tree.

But his abomination
The Lord has brought to light;
His Popish pride, and threefold crown,
Almost have lost their might.
His plack pardons are but lardouns *
Of new found vanity;
"Hay trix, tryme go trix,"
Under the greenwood tree.

. . . . . .

Of late I saw these limmers † stand
Like mad men at mischief,
Thinking to get the upper hand,
They look after relief;
But all in vain, go tell them plain
That day will never be;
"Hay trix, tryme go trix,"
Under the greenwood tree.

O Jesus! if they thought great glee
To see God's word down smorit,‡
The Congregation made to flee,
Hypocrisy restorit;

* Lumps. † Worthless persons.
‡ Smothered.

With masses sung, and bellis rung,
To their idolatry;
Marry, God thank you, we shall gar brank * you,
Before that time truly.

The Conduct of Affairs in the Early Years of the Reign—Randolph on Mary's Ministers.

Randolph to Cecil, October 24, 1561. *Keith's History*, vol. i. pp. 98–99.

I receive of her Grace at all times very good words. I am borne in hand [assured] by such as are nearest about her, as the Lord James and the Laird of Lethington, that they are meant as they are spoken; I see them above all others in credit, and find in them no alteration, though there be that complain that they yield too much unto her appetite; which yet I see not. The Lord James dealeth according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly; the Laird of Lethington more delicately and finely, yet nothing swerveth from the other in mind and effect. She is patient to hear, and beareth much. The Earl Marischal is wary, but speaketh sometimes to good purpose. . . . Mr. Knox cannot be otherwise persuaded, but many men are deceived in this woman; he feareth yet that *posteriora sunt pejora primis;* his severity keepeth us in marvellous order. I commend better the success of his doings and preachings than the manner thereof, tho' I acknowledged his doctrine to be sound: His prayer is daily for her—

* Put the barnacles on you, as on a restive horse.

"That God will turn her obstinate heart against God and His truth; or, if the Holy Will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of His chosen and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants," &c., in words terrible enough.

Cecil to Challoner (English Ambassador in Spain).
Foreign Calendar, 1562, June 8, 1562.

In Scotland . . . the Earl of Huntly is in no credit with the Queen. The whole governance rests in Lord James, being Earl of Mar, and the Laird of Lethington. The others that have credit are the Earls Marshal, Argyll, Morton, and Glencairn, all Protestants. The Queen quietly tolerates the reformed religion throughout the realm, who is thought to be no more devout towards Rome than for the contentation of her uncles.

[Cecil's suspicion was quite unfounded. Throughout her reign Mary was always in correspondence with the Pope, to whom she appealed for money to help her in her efforts for the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland.]

Mary on the Treaty of Edinburgh.

Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, January 5, 1562.
Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 134.

How prejudicial that Treaty is to such title and interest as by birth and natural descent of your own lineage may fall to us, by very inspection of the Treaty itself ye may easily perceive, and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in obscure terms. We know how near we are descended

of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us, as it were, a stranger from it. We trust, being so near your cousin, ye would be loth we should receive so manifest an injury as all utterly to be debarred from that title which in possibility may fall unto us.

1562.—Randolph's Account of the Huntly Rebellion.

Randolph to Cecil from Old Aberdeen, August 31, 1562.
Foreign Calendar, 1562.

The Queen in her progress is come to Old Aberdeen, where the university is. . . . Her journey is cumbersome, painful, and marvellous long; the weather extreme foul and cold, all victuals marvellous dear; and the corn that is, never like to come to ripeness.

Randolph to Cecil from Spynie, Morayshire, September 18.

Within these eight or ten days the Queen arrived at Inverness, the furthest part of her determined journey. She has had just cause for misliking the Earl of Huntly of long time, whose extortions have been so great, and other manifest tokens of disobedience such that it was no longer to be borne. Intending to reform these, she has found in him and his two eldest sons (the Lairds of Gordon and Findlater) open disobedience so far that they have taken arms and kept houses against her.

The first occasion hereof was this. The Laird of Findlater, being commanded to ward in Edinburgh,

broke prison; and being afterwards summoned to the Assize at Aberdeen, disobeyed also a new command from the Queen to enter himself prisoner in Stirling Castle. The Queen thinking this to be done by the advice of his father, refused to come to his house, she being looked and provided for. He, unadvisedly conceiving the worst, took the worst way, and supported his sons to manifest rebellion. At her arrival at Inverness on the 9th, she proposed to lodge in the castle, which belongs to her, and the keeping only to the Earl of Huntly, being Sheriff by inheritance of the whole shire, but was refused entrance, and forced to lodge in the town. That night, the castle being summoned, answer was given that without the Lord Gordon's command it should not be delivered.

Next day the country assembled to the assistance of the Queen. The Gordons, finding themselves not so well served by their friends as they looked for (who had above 500 men), rendered the castle, not being twelve or fourteen able persons. The captain was hanged, and his head set up on the castle, others condemned to perpetual prison, and the rest received mercy.

The Queen remained there five days, and now journeys homewards as far as Spynie, a house of the Bishop of Moray. . . . The Earl of Huntly keeps his house, and would have it thought that his disobedience came through the evil behaviour of his sons. The Queen is highly offended. . . .

In all these broils I assure you I never saw her merrier, never dismayed, nor never thought that so

much * to be in her that I find. She repented nothing, but (when the lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watch) that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk on the causeway with a jack and knapsack, a Glasgow buckler, and a broad sword.

. . . His [Huntly's] house is fair, and best furnished of any . . . in the country; his cheer is marvellous great; his mind such as it ought to be towards his Sovereign.

[The last sentence is *à propos* of a visit made by Argyll and Randolph to Huntly.]

Randolph to Cecil, from Aberdeen, September 24.

When he [Huntly] understood that the Queen had caused the captain of the Castle of Inverness to be hanged, and committed the others to prison, he thought there was no other way with him but to execute his former determination or be utterly undone. Therefore he assembled such force as he could make, and committed them to the care of his son, John Gordon, purposing to have met the Queen at her return homeward at the water of Spey, a place where good advantage might have been had. The Queen (being advertised of their purpose), by the advice of her Council, assembled, of those they call Highlandmen and other, above 2000, and so increased as she rode that at the passage of the water they were above 3000. As she rode forward diverse

* So the "Calendar," but Chalmers, in quoting, reads, probably correctly, "stomach."

reports were brought . . . some said that there was not a man to be seen, which was nearest the truth, for when the night before there were in that wood 1000 horse and foot, they had all departed, whereof the Queen had advertisement before she came to the Spey . . . what desperate blows would not have been given, when every man should have fought in the sight of so noble a Queen and so many fair ladies . . . your honour can easily judge. . . . That night (being Sunday) the Queen came to a house of the Laird of Banke [Banff?] . . . On Tuesday last she arrived at Old Aberdeen, preparing herself against her entry the next day into the new town, where she was honourably received with spectacles, plays, interludes, and others as they could best devise. . . . They presented her with a cup of silver, double gilt, well wrought, with 500 crowns in it; wine, coals, and wax were sent in, as much as will serve her while she remains here.

Ibid. from Aberdeen, September 30.

Since the Queen's arrival at Aberdeen they have consulted how to reform this country. It was thought best to begin at the head, and that the Earl of Huntly shall either submit himself and deliver up his disobedient son, John Gordon, in whose name all these pageants have been wrought, or utterly to use all force against him for the subverting of his house for ever. For this purpose she remains here a good space, and has levied 120 arquebusiers, and sent to Lothian and Fife for the Master of Lindsay, Grange, and Ormiston. Her purpose is to take the two houses held against her, for which purpose she has a cannon

within sixteen miles all ready, and other pieces there are in this town sufficient.

Ibid. Maitland of Lethington to Cecil from Aberdeen, October 1.

The Earl of Huntly will plead not guilty, and seems to charge the youth and folly of his children with whatever is amiss. If any fault be his, it may be thought to have proceeded from too great simplicity rather than any craft or malice, especially by so many as have had experience of how he has always been accustomed to deal.

Ibid. Randolph to Cecil from Aberdeen, October 28.

Huntly having assembled 700 persons, marched towards Aberdeen to apprehend the Queen and do with the rest at his will. She sent forth a sufficient number against him before he came to the town, so that this day the Earls of Murray, Athol, Morton, and 2000 others marched to the place where he was encamped, about twelve miles from hence [viz. Corrichie], and environed him, so that after some defence he yielded himself, as did John Gordon and another son named Adam Gordon, seventeen years of age, who are brought into this town alive, but the Earl himself, after he was taken, without either blow or strike, being set on horseback before him that was his taker, suddenly falleth from his horse stark dead, without word, that he ever spake, after that he was upon horseback.

Ibid. Randolph to Cecil from Aberdeen, November 2.

After Huntly was brought into this town it was consulted what should be done with his corpse. Some thought he should be buried, and nothing else done; others that he should be beheaded; the last was that his bowels should be taken out and the body reserved until Parliament, that there he might be convicted of treason, in which mind they remain. John Gordon confessed all and lays the fault on his father. He is not yet condemned, but doubtless will not escape.

Randolph to Cecil from Edinburgh, November 18. *Keith's History*, vol. ii. p. 175.

After the defeat of the Earl of Huntly consultation was had what should become of his body; it was resolved that it should be kept till the Parliament, that, according unto the order, judgment might be given against him in the three estates. His son, John Gordon, within three days after was beheaded in Aberdeen, and execution done upon certain others that were taken at the same time.

Lethington to Cecil from Dundee, November 14. *Keith's History*, vol. ii. p. 182.

I am sorry that the soil of my native country did ever produce so unnatural a subject as the Earl of Huntly hath proved in the end against his sovereign, being a princess so gentle and benign, and whose behaviour hath been always such towards all her subjects, and every one in particular, that wonder is

it that any could be found so ungracious as once to think evil against her. . . . I have heard it whispered that in this late storm of yours [Elizabeth's illness] a device was intended there to prefer some other in the succession to my mistress, which I cannot think to be true, seeing none is more worthy for all respects, nor hath so good a title. If her religion hath moved anything, seeing her behaviour such toward these that be of the religion within her own realm, yea, and the religion itself, which is a great deal more increased since she came home than it was before, I see no reason why those that be zealous of religion should suspect her.

1563.—28th May. The Sentence on the Earl's Body.

Rutland MSS. at Belvoir, quoted in the Marquess of Huntly's Annals of Aboyne, pp. 467–468.

The coffin was set upright, as if the Earl stood upon his feet, and upon it a piece of good black cloth with his arms fast pinned. His accusation being read, his proctor answering for him, as if himself had been alive, the inquest was empanelled. The verdict was given that he was found guilty, and judgment given thereupon as by the law is accustomed. Immediately hereupon the good black cloth that hung over the coffin was taken away, and in its place a worse hanged on, the arms torn in pieces in sight of the people, and likewise struck out of the herald's book.

1563.—22nd February. The Death of Châtelar.

Laing's Knox, vol. ii. pp. 367–369.

[Châtelar, a musician and poet, had been in the suite of d'Amville, who accompanied Mary to Scotland. He addressed poems to the Queen, who received them graciously, and replied to them. He went home with his master, but returned to Scotland in 1562, and became one of the Queen's favourite attendants.]

Amongst the minions of the court there was one named Monsieur Chatelar, a Frenchman, that at that tine passed all others in credit with the Queen. In dancing of the Purpose (so term they that dance, in the which man and woman talk secretly . . .) in this dance, the Queen chose Chatelar, and Chatelar took the Queen. Chatelar had the best dress. All this winter, Chatelar was so familiar in the Queen's cabinet, early and late, that scarcely could any of the nobility have access unto her. The Queen would lie upon Chatelar's shoulder, and sometimes privily she would steal a kiss of his neck. And all this was honest enough; for it was the gentle entreatment of a stranger. But the familiarity was so great, that upon a night, he privily did convoy himself under the Queen's bed; but being espied, he was commanded away. The bruit [report] arising, the Queen called the Earl of Murray, and bursting into a womanly affection, charged him, that, as he loved her, he should slay Chatelar, and let him never speak a word. The other at first made promise so to do . . . but returned and fell upon his knees before the Queen and said: Madam, I beseech your Grace

cause not me to take the blood of this man upon me; your Grace has entreated him so familiarly before, that you have offended all your nobility; and now, if he shall be secretly slain at your own commandment, what shall the world judge of it? I shall bring him to the presence of justice, and let him suffer by law according to his deserving. "Oh," said the Queen, "you will never let him speak." I shall do (said he), madam, what in me lieth to save your honour.

Poor Chatelar was brought back from Kinghorn to St. Andrews, examined, put to an assize, and so beheaded, the 22nd day of February, 1563. He begged license to write to France the cause of his death, which, said he, in his tongue was, *Pour estre trouve en lieu trop suspect;* that is, Because I was found in a place too much suspected. At the place of execution, when he saw that there was no remedy but death, he made a godly confession, and granted that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanity and impiety, was justly recompensed upon him. But in the end he concluded, looking unto the heavens, with these words, *O cruel dame!* that is, cruel mistress! What that complaint imported, lovers may divine. And so received Chatelar the reward of his dancing, for he lost his head, that his tongue should not utter the secrets of our Queen. *Deliver us, O Lord, from the rage of such inordinate rulers.*

The Famine of 1563.

Laing's Knox, vol. ii. pp. 369–70.

The year of God 1563, there was an universal dearth in Scotland. But in the northland, where,

the harvest before, the Queen had travelled, there was an extreme famine, in the which many died in that country. The dearth was great over all, but the famine was principally there. The boll of wheat gave six pounds; the boll of bere, six merks and a half; the boll of meal, four merks; the boll of oats, fifty shillings; an ox to draw in the plough, twenty merks; a wether, thirty shillings. And so all things appertaining to the sustentation of man, in triple and more exceeded their accustomed prices. And so did God, according to the threatening of his law, punish the idolatry of our wicked Queen, and our ingratitude, that suffered her to defile the land with that abomination again, that God so potently had purged, by the power of his word. For the riotous feasting, and excessive banqueting, used in Court and country, wheresoever that wicked woman repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of bread, and to give his malediction upon the fruits of the earth. But, O alas! who looked, or yet looks to this very cause of all our calamities.

1563.—The Meeting of Parliament.

Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 381.

Such stinking pride of women, as was seen at that Parliament, was never seen before in Scotland. Three sundry days, the Queen rode to the Tolbooth; the first day, she made a painted oration, and there might have been heard amongst her flatterers, "*Vox Dianæ*, the Voice of a Goddess (for it could not be Dei) and not of a woman. God save that sweet

face. Was there ever Orator spake so properly and so sweetly?"

All things misliking the Preachers, they spake boldly against the targetting of their taillies [*i.e.* the adornment of their robes with tassels], and against the rest of their vanity, which they affirmed should provoke God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm. . . . Articles were presented, for orders to be taken for apparel, and for reformation of other enormities; but all was winked at.

1563.—May or June. Knox and the Queen.

Laing's Knox, vol. ii. p. 386.

[John Knox had five interviews with the Queen, which are recorded in his "History." Soon after Mary's arrival in Scotland, she sent for Knox, and they discussed the religious controversy and Knox's "Blast against the monstrous Regiment of Women," in which he had inveighed against female rule. In the spring of 1562, the Queen sent for Knox, who had preached a sermon from the text, "And now, understand, O ye kings, and be learned, ye that judge the earth." The Reformer gave a *résumé* of his sermon, and informed the Queen that he considered her uncles "enemies unto God," and that "for maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents." The third occasion was about a year later, at Lochleven, when the thesis was the rights of subjects to rebel, and ended with the threat, "Now, Madam, if ye shall deny your duty unto them, who especially crave, that ye punish malefactors, think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, Madam, ye shall not." The malefactors in question were recusant Roman Catholics. "Herewith she being somewhat offended, passed to her supper." The interview was resumed in the morning, but the conversation was

more amicable, Mary asking Knox's help in reconciling the Earl of Argyle to his wife, who was the Queen's half-sister. The fourth discussion, quoted below, was *à propos* of the proposals for Mary's marriage, which were the main political theme of the year 1563. Knox had denounced any marriage with a Roman Catholic. In December of the same year, the Queen and the Reformer met again, Knox undergoing a judicial examination on a charge which amounted to incitement to rebel. He defended himself by a homily upon "the insatiable cruelty of the Papists," and was found innocent by the Council.]

The Provost of Glencludan, Douglas by surname, of Drumlanark, was the man that gave the charge, that the said John should present himself before the Queen, which he did soon after dinner. The Lord Ochiltree, and divers of the faithful, bare him company to the Abbey; but none passed in to the Queen with him in the cabinet, but John Erskine of Dun, then superintendent of Angus and Mearns.

The Queen in a vehement fume began to cry out, that never Prince was used as she was. "I have (said she) borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means; I offered unto you presence and audience, whensoever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you; I vow to God I shall be once revenged." And with these words scarce could Marnoch, her secret chamber boy, get napkins to hold her eyes dry, for the tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech. The said John did patiently abide all the first fume, and at opportunity answered, "True it is, Madam, your Grace and I

have been at divers controversies, into the which I never perceived your Grace to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error, wherein ye have been nourished, for the lack of true Doctrine, your Majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the Preaching-place (Madam) I think few have occasion to be offended at me, and there (Madam) I am not master of myself, but must obey him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth. . . ."

"But what have you to do (said she) with my marriage? Or, what are you within the Commonwealth?"

"A subject born within the same (said he) Madam; and albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron within it, yet hath God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and useful member within the same; yea, Madam, to me it appertaineth no less, to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any one of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience craveth plainness of me; and therefore (Madam) to yourself I say, that which I spake in public, whensoever the nobility of this realm shall be content, and consent, that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the Truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself."

At these words, howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and entreated

what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasant words, of her beauty, of her excellency; and how that all the princes in Europe would be glad to seek her favours. But all that was to cast oil into the flaming fire. The said John stood still, without any alteration of countenance, for a long time, while that the Queen gave place to her inordinate passion; and in the end he said, "Madam, in God's presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of mine own boys, whom my own hands correct, much less can I rejoice in your Majesty's weeping; But seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your Majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the Commonwealth by silence." Herewith was the Queen more offended, and commanded the said John to pass forth of the cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the chamber.

The Laird of Dun tarried, and Lord John of Coldingham came into the cabinet, and so they remained with her near the space of one hour. The said John stood in the chamber, as one whom men had never seen (so were all afraid), except that the Lord Ochiltree bare him company; and therefore he began to make discourse with the ladies, who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel; which when he espied, he merrily said: "Fair Ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide; and then in the end, that we might pass to

Heaven with this gay gear [clothing]! But fy upon that knave Death, that will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid on his arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly [weak] soul I fear shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating [tassels], pearls, nor precious stones." And by such means procured he the company of women, and so passed the time till that the Laird of Dun willed him to depart to his house till new advertisement.

The Queen would have had the sentiment of the Lords of the Articles if that such manner of speaking deserved not punishment. But she was counselled to desist; and so that storm quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Mary's Second Marriage.

[The problem of Mary's marriage was one of great difficulty. Allusions to it occur in diplomatic correspondence immediately after the death of Francis II., and it was constantly in men's minds. The Scottish preachers and the Protestant nobles objected to a union with a Roman Catholic prince (*cf. supra*, p. 40). Catherine de Medici, who was at the head of affairs in France, opposed the projected match with Don Carlos of Spain (p. 43). Elizabeth of England found a difficulty in every proposal, and was especially afraid of the union of Scotland with a foreign power. As early as the spring of 1561 Throckmorton warned Elizabeth that, if she wished to prevent such a union, "she should make a party in Scotland by entertaining a good number of the best there, that all Princes, perceiving her to have a great party in that realm, would not greatly seek upon a country so much at her devotion" (*Foreign*

Calendar, March 31, 1561). The following extracts indicate the course of the controversy, and aim at presenting a connected survey of the negotiations.]

Randolph to Cecil, from Edinburgh, December 17, 1561. *Keith's History*, vol. ii. p. 124.

When any purpose falleth in of marriage, she saith that she will none other husband but the Queen of England. He is right near about her that hath oftentimes heard her speak it. I desire that it may be in perfect neighbourhood, since it cannot be in perfect marriage.

1563.—August 20. Instructions for Randolph.

Foreign Calendar.

He shall always rest upon this argument, that neither Elizabeth nor England . . . can think any mighty Prince a meet husband for her, to continue the amity that now is with this realm.

Smith to the English Privy Council, from Paris, October 13, 1563. *Foreign Calendar.*

They [Catherine de Medici and the Constable of France] hold King Philip a suspect neighbour. But they most mislike the Spanish marriage with the Queen of Scots, which they hold to be concluded unto by the said Queen, taking it to be prejudicial to England and consequently to them.

[The anxiety about her marriage was supposed to be the cause of an illness from which Mary suffered, in the end of 1563. On December 13 Randolph wrote to Cecil that she "kept her bed, being somewhat diseased of overmuch travail she took a night

or two before, dancing to celebrate her nativity. But," he adds, "for two months the Queen has been divers times in great melancholies. Her grief is marvellous secret. She is not well, and weeps when there is little appearance of occasion." Eight days later, he mentions that "the Queen's illness daily increaseth. Her pain is in her right side. . . . Some think that the cause of the Queen's sickness is that she utterly despairs of the marriage of any of those she looked for, as well that neither they abroad are very hasty, nor her subjects at home very willing those ways. On the 31st he had an interview with her "in her chamber, beside ladies and gentlemen, herself in bed." He told her that Elizabeth "could in no point alter her former advice, which was that it could not be expedient for her country, nor fit for herself, to match in any of those houses, when appearance is that dissension may grow, and enmity to be nourished, as before time has been." Mary summoned the Earl of Argyll, and told him that Randolph would have her marry in England. He asked if "the Queen of England were become a man?" "Who is there in that country (said she) to whom he [Argyll] would wish her?" He said, "To whom she could like best." "That would not please the Duke" [of Châtelherault], said she. "If it please God, and is good for the country," said he, "what reck who were displeased?" (*Foreign Calendar*, December 13, 21, and 31, 1563). Leicester was the husband suggested by Queen Elizabeth, and, during 1564, it became evident that either he or Darnley would be the Queen's choice.]

Randolph to Cecil, from Edinburgh, March 20, 1564.
Foreign Calendar.

What troubles have risen in this country for religion, your Honour knoweth. All things are now grown into such a liberty, and her Grace taken unto herself such a will to do therein what she list, that of late, contrary to her own ordinances, as great numbers have repaired to her chapel to hear mass, as

sometimes come to the common churches to the sermon. To have her mind altered for this freedom, that she desireth to have all men live as they like, she can hardly be brought, and thinketh it too great a subjection for her, being a prince in her own country, to have her will broken therein. The subjects who desire to live in the true fear and worshipping of God, offer rather their lives again to be sacrificed, than that they would suffer such abomination, yea, almost permit herself to enjoy her mass, which is now more plainly and openly spoken against by the preachers, than ever was the Pope of Rome. . . . Above all the rest, this is it that is feared that will be the breach of all good accord and quietness of this estate, though the rest be borne with, that is, if she match herself with a Papist, by whom she may be fortified to her intent.

Kirkaldy of Grange to Randolph, from St. Johnston's [Perth], April 30, 1564. *Laing's Knox*, vol. vi. p. 539.

The Earl of Lennox will obtain license to come home and speak with the Queen. Her meaning therein is not known, but some suspects she will at length be persuaded to favour his son.

[The Earl of Lennox had entered into negotiations with Henry VIII., in 1544, to deliver over to England certain Scottish castles, and to promote the marriage of Mary to Prince Edward. Sentence of forfeiture was passed against him by the Scottish Parliament on 1st October 1545. His treachery had received its reward in the shape of an alliance with Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Angus and Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV. (*cf.* Table, App. A.). Their eldest son was Lord Darnley.]

Knox to Randolph, from Edinburgh, May 3, 1564.
Laing's Knox, vol. vi., p. 541.

The Earl of Lennox's servant is familiar in Court, and it is supposed that it is not without knowledge, yea, and labour, of your Court. Some in the country look for the lady [Queen Mary] and the young Earl [Darnley] ere it be long. It is whispered to me that licence is all ready procured for their [Lennox and Darnley's] hithercoming. God's providence is inscrutable to man, before the issue of such things as are kept close for a season in his counsel. But, to be plain with you, that journey and progress I like not.

Queen Elizabeth and Sir James Melville.

[Sir James Melville was sent as ambassador from the Queen of Scots to the Queen of England to advance negotiations for Mary's marriage, and to discover, if possible, Elizabeth's real meaning.]

September 28, 1564. *Melville's Memoirs*, pp. 116–130
(*Bannatyne Club.*)

The next morning Master Lattoun and Master Randolph, late agent for the Queen of England in Scotland, came to my lodging to convoy me to her Majesty, who was, as they said, already in the garden . . . I found her Majesty pacing in an alley. . . . She inquired if the Queen had sent any answer anent the proposition of a marriage made to her by Master Randolph. I answered, as I was instructed, that the Queen thought little or nothing thereof, but

looked for the meeting of some Commissioners upon the borders, with my Lord of Murray and the secretary, Lethington, to confer and treat upon all such matters of greatest importance. . . . So seeing that your Majesties cannot so soon find the opportunity of meeting, so much desired between yourselves . . . the Queen, my mistress . . . is in hope that your Majesty will send my Lord of Bedford and my Lord Robert Dudley. She said that it appeared that I made but small account of my Lord Robert, seeing that I named the Earl of Bedford before him; but, or it were long, she should make him a greater earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home; for she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she should have married herself, if ever she had been minded to take a husband. . . . And to cause the Queen, my mistress, to think the more of him, I was required to stay till I had seen him made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh, with great solemnity at Westminster, herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knees before her, keeping a great gravity and discreet behaviour. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck to kittle [tickle] him smilingly, the French Ambassador and I standing beside her. Then she asked me how I liked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subject, he was happy that had encountered a princess that could discern and reward good service. "Yet," she said, "ye like better of yonder long lad," pointing towards my Lord Darnley, who, as nearest prince of the blood, bore the sword of honour that day before her. My answer again was,

that no woman of spirit could make choice of such a man, that was liker a woman than a man; for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady-faced. I had no will that she should think that I liked of him, or had any eye or dealing that way: albeit I had a secret charge to deal with his mother, my Lady Lennox, to purchase leave for him to pass in Scotland, where his father was already, that he might see the country and convoy the Earl, his father, back again to England.

Now the said Queen was determined to treat with the Queen, my sovereign, first anent her marriage with the Earl of Leicester, and for that effect promised to send commissioners unto the borders. In the meantime I was favourably and familiarly used; for during nine days that I remained at Court, her Majesty pleased to confer with me every day, and sometimes thrice upon a day, to wit, afore noon, after noon, and after supper. Sometimes she would say, that since she could not meet with the Queen, her good sister herself, to confer familiarly with her, that she should open a good part of her inward mind unto me, that I might show it again unto the Queen; and said that she was not so offended at the Queen's angry letter as for that she seemed to disdain so far the marriage with my Lord of Leicester, which she had caused Master Randolph propose unto her. I said that it might be he had touched something thereof to my Lord of Murray and Lethington, but that he had not proposed the matter directly unto herself; and that as well her Majesty, as they that were her most familiar counsellors, could conjecture nothing thereupon but delays and drifting of time,

anent the declaring of her to be the second person [*i.e.*, the next in succession to the throne of England] which would try at the meeting of commissioners above specified. She said again that the trial and declaration thereof would be hasted forward, according to the Queen's good behaviour, and applying to her [Elizabeth's] pleasure and advice in her marriage; and seeing the matter concerning the said declaration was so weighty, she had ordained some of the best lawyers in England diligently to search out who had the best right, which she would wish should be her dear sister rather than any other. I said I was assured that her Majesty [Mary] was both out of doubt hereof, and would rather she should be declared than any other. . . . She said that she was never minded to marry, except she were compelled by the Queen, her sister's, hard behaviour towards her, in doing by [beyond] her counsel, as said is. I said: "Madam, ye need not tell me that; I know your stately stomach; ye think if ye were married, ye would be but Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both; ye may not suffer a commander."

She appeared to be so affectioned to the Queen her good sister, that she had a great desire to see her: and because their desired meeting could not be hastily brought to pass, she delighted oft to look upon her picture, and took me in to her bed chamber, and opened a little lettroun [cabinet] wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and written upon the paper, their names with her own hand. Upon the first that she took

up was written, "My lord's picture." I held the candle and pressed to see my lord's [Leicester's] picture. Albeit she was loth to let me see it, at length I by importunity obtained the sight thereof, and asked the same to carry home with me unto the Queen, which she refused, alleging she had but that one of his. I said again, that she had the principal; for he was at the furthest part of the chamber speaking with the secretary Cecil. Then she took out the Queen's picture and kissed it; and I kissed her hand for the great love I saw she bore to the Queen. . . . . Her [Elizabeth's] hair was redder than yellow, curled apparently of nature. Then she entered to discern what colour of hair was reputed best, and inquired whether the Queen's or her's was best, and which of them two was fairest. I said, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I thought fairest. I said, she was the fairest Queen in England, and ours the fairest Queen in Scotland. Yet she was earnest. I said they were both the fairest ladies of their courts, and that the Queen of England was whiter, but our Queen was very lovesome. She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said, our Queen. Then she said the Queen was over high, and that herself was neither over high nor over low. Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I said, that I was dispatched out of Scotland, that the Queen was but new come back from the highland hunting; and when she had leisure from the affairs of her country, she read upon good books, the histories of divers countries, and some-

times would play upon lute and virginals. She sperit [asked] if she played well. I said, reasonably for a Queen.

That same day after dinner, my Lord of Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery that I might hear some music, but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. But after I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber and stood still at the door check, and heard her play excellently well; but she left off so soon as she turned her about and saw me, and came forwards seeming to strike me with her left hand, and to think shame; alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary her alone, to eschew melancholy; and askit how I came there. I said, as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsden, as we passed by the chamber door, I heard such melody, which ravished and drew me within the chamber I wist not how; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of France, and was now willing to suffer what kind of punishment would please her lay upon me for my offence. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knee beside her; but she gave me a cushion with her own hand to lay under my knee, which I refused, but she compelled me; and called for my lady Stafford out of the next chamber, for she was alone there. Then she asked whether the Queen or she played best. In that I gave her the praise. . . . She inquired at me whether she or the

Queen danced best. I said, the Queen danced not so high and disposedly as she did. Then again she wished that she might see the Queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convoy her secretly in [to] Scotland by post, clothed like a page disguised, that she might see the Queen: as King James the 5 passed in France disguised, with his own ambassador, to see the Duc of Vendome's sister that should-have been his wife; and how that her chamber should be kept, as though she were sick, in the meantime, and none to be privy thereto but my Lady Stafford, and one of the grooms of her chamber. She said, Alas! if she might do it: and seemed to like well such kind of language, and used all the means she could to cause me persuade the Queen of the great love that she bore unto her. . . . My Lord of Leicester. . . . began to purge himself of so proud a pretence as to marry so great a Queen, esteeming himself not worthy to deicht her shone [clean her shoes]; alleging the invention of that proposition to have proceeded of Master Cecil his secret enemy. "For if I should," said he, "have seemed to desire that marriage, I should have lost the favour of both the Queens," praying me till excuse him unto the Queen. . . . At my homecoming I found the Queen's Majesty still in Edinburgh . . . she inquired whether I thought that Queen meant truly towards her as well inwardly in her heart as she appeared to do outwardly by her speech. I said, in my judgment, that there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation and fear that her princely qualities should over soon chase her out,

and displace her from the kingdom; as having already hindered her [Mary's] marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria, and now offering unto her my Lord of Leicester, whom she would be as loth as then to want. Then the Queen gave me her hand, that she should never marry the said new-made earl; albeit shortly while after, my Lord of Murray and Bedford met beside Berwick to treat upon the marriage with Leicester. . . . The Queen of England began to fear and suspect that the said marriage might perchance take effect. And therefore my Lord Darnley obtained the rather, license to come into Scotland, who was a lusty youth, in hope that he should prevail being present before Leicester that was absent. Which license was obtained by the means of the secretary, Cecil; not that he was minded that any of the marriages should take effect, but with such shifts and practices to hold the Queen unmarried so long as he could.

Randolph to Cecil from Edinburgh. Foreign Calendar.
December 15, 1564.

This parliament, being only assembled for restoring Lennox, began upon Monday, and ended the Saturday after. The third day the Queen came to the house, when she had an oration of her affection towards her subjects and the weal of her country, which moved her to show her favour towards Lennox, to restore him to his country, the rather for the suit of the Queen of England, whose desire to her was of no small moment, which words were duly rehearsed. . . .

[The next development in the situation took the form of a correspondence between Murray and Lethington, and Cecil. On December 4, 1564, Randolph wrote to Cecil "that Murray and Lethington had concluded that amity with England is fittest," and added, "No man will be more acceptable to the people than the Lord Robert. There has been more thought of Lord Darnley before his father's coming than is at present. The mother more feared a great deal than beloved." The two Scottish lords had already written to Cecil, who replied on the 16th, informing them that Elizabeth would never consent to their request, the establishment of Mary's "title to be declared by Parliament in the second place to the Queen," but promising that she will cause inquisition to be made of their Sovereign's right; and as far as shall stand with justice and her own surety, she will abase such titles as shall be proved unjust and prejudicial to her sister's interest;" and giving them warning. "Let there not be found any intention to compass . . . a kingdom and a crown, which, if it be sought for, may be sooner lost than got, and not being craved may be as soon offered as reason can require." To this Murray and Lethington replied on the 24th, asking what Cecil meant by the words "as shall stand with justice and her own surety," for they "never meant anything prejudicial to the surety of Queen Elizabeth;" stating that if Elizabeth "will nowise establish the succession of her crown," the Leicester project must fall to the ground; and urging Cecil to secrecy, for if it were discovered that they had "meddled without her Majesty's knowledge, the opening thereof" would be the ruin of them both. (Foreign Calendar, 14th, 16th, and 24th December 1564.) This episode is of importance in connection with Mary's subsequent attitude to the Darnley marriage.]

Queen Mary and Randolph.

Randolph to Queen Elizabeth, from Edinburgh, February 5, 1565. *Chalmers's Queen Mary*, vol. ii. pp. 123-127.

Her grace lodged in a merchant's house; her train were very few; and there was small repair from any

part. Her will was, that for the time that I did tarry, I should dine and sup with her. Your Majesty was oftentimes dranken unto, by her, at dinners and suppers. Having, in this sort, continued with her grace, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to take occasion to utter unto her grace, that which last I received in command, from your Majesty, by Mr. Secretary's letter, which was to know her grace's resolution touching those matters propounded, at Berwick, by my Lord of Bedford, and me, to my Lord of Murray and Lord of Lethington. I had no sooner spoken these words, but she saith, "I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you to be merry and to see how like a Bourgeois-wife I live, with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime, with your great and grave matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great ambassage until the Queen come thither; for I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearances, that you may think that there is a Queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she, at St. Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh." I said that I was very sorry for that, for that at Edinburgh, she said that she did love my mistress, the Queen's majesty, better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was altered. It pleased her at this to be very merry, and called me by more names than were given me in my christendom. At these merry conceits much good sport was

made. "But well, Sir," saith she, "that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed in writing. . . . You know how willing I am to follow her advice . . . and yet I can find in her no resolution nor determination. For nothing, I cannot be bound unto her . . . and therefore, this I say, and trust me I mean it, if your mistress will, as she hath said, use me as her natural born sister or daughter, I will take myself either as one or the other as she please, and will show no less readiness to oblige her, and honour her, than my mother, or eldest sister; but, if she will repute me always but as her neighbour Queen of Scots, how willing soever I be to live in amity and to maintain peace, yet she must not look for that at my hands, that otherwise I would, or she desireth." . . . I requested her Grace, humbly . . . to let her mind be known, how well she liked of the suit of my Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, that might be able somewhat to say or write touching that matter, unto your Majesty. "My mind towards him is such as it ought to be of a very noble man, as I hear say by very many, and such one as the Queen, your mistress, my good sister, doth so well like to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me to be mine. Marry, what I shall do, it lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me." I made myself not well to understand these words, because I would have the better hold of them. She repeated the self same words again.

SECTION III

FROM THE DARNLEY MARRIAGE TO THE RIZZIO MURDER

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1563.—Feb. 17-Oct. 23. The Darnley Marriage and the Murray Rebellion.

Melville's Memoirs, p. 134.

[It was now becoming evident that Mary was to marry Lord Darnley. Her resolution gave great offence, not only to Queen Elizabeth, but to the Earl of Murray, and some other Scottish nobles, who raised a rebellion, commonly called the "Run about Chase." The matter is somewhat mysterious; there are, as the reader will observe, allegations of two conspiracies—one against Murray by Darnley, and another against Mary and Darnley by Murray. The evidence is not decisive.]

I have said already how that my Lord Darnley was advised to suit license to come into Scotland, who at his first coming found the Queen in the Wemyss, making her progress through Fife. Her Majesty took well with him, and said that he was the lustiest and best proportioned long [tall] man that she had seen, for he was of high stature, long and small, even and upright; well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises. And after he had hanted [frequented] a while in Court, he proposed marriage to her Majesty; which she took in evil part at the first, as she told me that same day herself, and how she had refused the ring which he then offered unto her, when I took occasion, as I had begun, to speak in his favour, that their marriage would put out of doubt their title to the succession. I cannot tell how he fell in acquaintance with Seigneur David [Rizzio], but he also was his great friend at the Queen's hand; so that her Majesty took aye the longer the better liking of him, and at length deter-

mined to marry him. Which being known unto Queen Elizabeth, she sent and charged him to return; and also sent her ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, into Scotland, both to dissuade the Queen to marry him, and in case the Queen would not follow her advice in her marriage, to persuade the lords and so many as were of her religion to withstand the said marriage, unless the Lord Darnley would promise and subscribe to abide at the religion reformed, which he had plainly professed in England. The Queen again perceiving the Queen of England's earnest opposition to all the marriages that were offered unto her, thought not meet to delay any longer her marriage. But my Lord Duke of Châtelherault, my Lords of Argyll, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, and divers others, lords and barons, withstood the said marriage; who after they had made a mind to take the Lord Darnley, in the Queen's company, at the raid of Beath, and to have sent him into England, as they alleged—I wot not what was in their mind, but it was an evil-favoured enterprize, wherein the Queen was in great danger other than [that of] keeping or heartbreaking; and as they that had failed of their foolish enterprize, took on plainly their arms of rebellion, her Majesty again convened forces against them, and chased them here and there till at length they were compelled to flee into England for refuge, to her that had promised by her ambassadors to wear her crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait for their opposition unto the said marriage. Which was all denied at their coming to seek help; and when they sent up my Lord of

Murray to that Queen, the rest abiding at Newcastle, he could obtain nothing but disdain and scorn; till at length he and the Abbot of Kilwinning, his companion in that message, were persuaded to come and confess unto the Queen upon their knees, and that in presence of the ambassadors of France and Spain, that her Majesty had never moved them to that opposition and resistance against their Queen's marriage. . . . Unto my Lord of Murray and his marrow [comrade] she said, "Now you have told the truth; for I nor none in my name stirred you up against your Queen; for your abominable treason might serve for example, to move my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore pack you out of my presence; ye are but unworthy traitors."

1565.—April 29. Mary's Festivities.

Randolph to Cecil. Foreign Calendar, 1565.

Greater triumphs there never were in time of Popery than were this Easter at the resurrection and at her high mass. Organs were wont to be the common music. She wanted now neither trumpet, drum, nor fife, bagpipe nor tabor. . . . Upon Monday she and divers of her women apparelled themselves like burgesses' wives, went upon their feet up and down the town, and of every man they met they took some pledge for money towards the banquet; and in the lodging where the writer was accustomed to lodge was the dinner prepared, at which she was herself, with the wonder and gazing of men, women, and children.

[This celebration of Easter is important as being a factor in the growth of Protestant dislike of the Darnley marriage.]

Randolph to Cecil from Edinburgh, July 2, 1565 [*date of end of letter*]. *Keith's History*, vol. ii. p. 300.

I wrote that there was a convention appointed at St. Johnstone [Perth] the 22nd of this instant [*i.e.* June], to which there were specially named these, the Duke, Earls Argyll, Murray, Morton, and Glencairn; only Morton came; the other some tarried at their houses, as the Duke, and Earl of Murray; other as Argyll and Glencairn came to Edinburgh the 24th to the Convention [General Assembly] of the Protestants there. With this her Grace is greatly offended, and layeth the whole fault hereof to the Earl of Murray and Argyll, which both had come to St. Johnstone, but that my Lord of Murray was assuredly advertised that it was intended that he should be slain there. . . . With my Lord of Murray I have lately spoken; he is grieved to see these extreme follies in his sovereign; he lamenteth the state of this country that tendeth to utter ruin; he feareth that the nobility shall be forced to assemble themselves together, to do her honour and reverence as they are in duty bound, but to provide for the State that it do not utterly perish. . . . The Duke, the Earl of Argyll, and he concur in this device; many other are like to join with them in the same; what will ensue let wise men judge. . . . The less comfort that this Queen be put in, that the Queen's majesty will allow of her doings, the sooner shall her Majesty bring that to pass here that she most desireth, and more at her Majesty's devotion than at this time she hath, there were never in Scotland. Some that already have

heard of my Ladie's Grace [Lady Lennox's] imprisonment like very well thereof, and wish to the father and son to keep her company. The question hath been asked me. Whether if they were delivered us into Berwick, we would receive them? I answered that we could nor would not refuse our own, in what sort soever they come unto us.

Randolph to Cecil from Edinburgh, July 4.
Ibid. vol. ii. p. 309.

Upon Saturday her Grace came . . . to St. Johnston, where word was brought her that the Earl of Argyll and Earl of Murray had assembled many of their friends and servants, and intended to take her and the Lord Darnley riding between that town and the Lord of Livingstone's house, and to have carried the Queen's Grace to St. Andrews, and the Lord Darnley to Castle Campbell, a house of the Earl of Argyll. . . . She took her horse by five of the clock in the morning, and rode with great speed, having only three women in her train, until she came to the Queen's Ferry, passing through a little town called Kinross, hard by Lochleven, where my Lord of Murray was in a house in the loch with his mother and the Laird of Lochleven, his brother, with a small number of his servants, having been sick of a flux not four days before, intending for all that to have met the Queen, and to have convoyed her as far as her Grace would give him leave; but hearing that her Grace was past that town three or four hours before that he looked for her, he remained still and went not forth. . . .

They [the two Earls] think it time to put to that remedy they can; they depend greatly upon the comfort received from the Queen's majesty our sovereign; they know that it as well tendeth to her Majesty's surety for that which may ensure as the present hurt and danger to themselves. Wherefore, having considered her Majesty's friendly and godly offer to concur with them, and to assist them, . . . as from subjects that see how far the Sovereign is led by unadvised persons, from her duty to God, and care that she ought to have of the weal of her country, they most humbly desire the performance of her Majesty's promise. . . . They are loth so far to charge her Majesty as to desire any number of men to take their part, but that it will only please her Majesty to help them with such sums of money as for a time may be able to keep themselves together, be it that they determine to be wheresoever the Queen's self is, or to remain in Edinburgh, where they may best put order unto all those grievous enormities. . . . They think that if her Majesty would bestow only three thousand pounds sterling for this year, except some foreign force shall be brought in against them.

Acts of the Privy Council of Scotland, July 12, 1565.

For as much as divers evil disposed persons . . . wickedly and ungodly have pretended by untrue reports . . . that her Majesty had begun or intended to impede, stay, or molest any of them in using of their religion and conscience freely . . . ordains letters to be direct to officers of the Queen's Sheriff in

that part [respect], charging them to pass to the market crosses of all burghs of this realm, and other places needful, and there, by open proclamation, make publication of this her Majesty's mind and meaning; certifying and assuring all her good subjects, that as they, nor none of them, have hitherto been molested in the quiet using of their religion and conscience, so shall they not be unquieted in that behalf in any time to come; but behaving themselves honestly as good subjects shall find her Majesty their good princess, willing to do them justice, and to show them favour and clemency, but [without] innovation or alteration in any sort.

Randolph to Leicester, from Edinburgh, July 31, 1565. *Wright's Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 199.

I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard by such information as I have given from hence, what the present state of this country is, how this Queen is now become a married wife, and her husband, the self same day of his marriage, made a king. . . . So many discontented minds, so much misliking of the subjects to have these matters, ordered in this sort, to be brought to pass, I never heard of any marriage. . . . Thus they fear the overthrow of religion, the breach of amity with the Queen's Majesty [Elizabeth], destruction of as many of the nobility as she hath misliking of, or that he to pick a quarrel unto. . . . He [Darnley] would now seem to be indifferent to both the religions, she to use her mass, and he to come sometimes to the preaching.

They were married with all the solemnities of the

popish time, saving that he heard not the mass; his speech and talk argueth his mind, and yet would he fain seem to the world that he were of some religion. His words to all men against whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how unjust soever it be, so proud and spiteful, that rather he seemeth a monarch of the world than he that not long since we have seen and known the Lord Darnley. . . .

All honour that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully . . . all dignities that she can indue him with are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him, and what may I say more, she hath given over unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh. She can as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will, as your Lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself. . . . Upon Saturday . . . at nine hours at night, by three heralds at sound of the trumpet he was proclaimed king. This was the night before the marriage. This day, Monday, at twelve of the clock, the Lords, all that were in this town, were present at the proclaiming of him again, when no man said so much as Amen, saving his father, that cried out aloud, "God save his Grace!"

The manner of the marriage was of this sort. Upon Sunday, in the morning, between five and six, she was conveyed by divers of her nobles to the chapel. She had upon her back the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood, not unlike unto that which she wore the doleful day of the burial of her husband. She was

led unto the Chapel by the Earls Lennox and Athole, and there she was left until her husband came, who was also conveyed by the same lords. The ministers, two priests, did there receive them. The banns are asked the third time, and an instrument taken by a notary that no man said against them, or alleged any cause why the marriage might not proceed. The words were spoken, the rings, which were three, the middle a rich diamond, were put upon her finger, they kneel together, and many prayers said over them. She carrieth out the . . .* and he taketh a kiss, and leaveth her there and went to her chamber, whither in a space she followeth, and there being required, according to the solemnities, to cast off her care, and lay aside those sorrowful garments, and give herself to a pleasanter life. After some pretty refusals, more I believe for manner sake than grief of heart, she suffereth them that stood by, every man that could approach to take out a pin, and so being committed to her ladies changed her garments.

Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, from Windsor, August 21, 1565. *Wright's Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 206.

Mr. Tomworth was sent to the Queen of Scots upon this occasion; the Scottish Queen hath sent twice hither to require the Queen's Majesty to declare for what causes she did mislike of this marriage, offering also to satisfy the same. In the meantime troubles arise there betwixt her and the Earl of Murray and others being friendly to the warm amity of the realm, whereunto for sundry respects it seemeth

* Word illegible.

convenient for us to regard. The Duke [of Châtelherault], the Earls of Argyll, Murray, and Rothes, with sundry Barons, are joined together not to allow of the marriage, otherwise than to have the religion established by law, but the Queen refuseth in this sort; she will not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man to live according to his conscience. And herewith she retained a great number of Protestants from associating openly with the other. She hath sent for the Earl Murray, but the mistrust is so far entered on both sides, that I think it will fall to an evil end, for she hath put the Earl of Murray to the horn [*i.e.* outlawed] and prohibited all persons to aid him. Nevertheless, the Duke, the Earls of Argyll and Rothes are together with him. We shall hear by Mr. Tomworth what is most likely to follow.

Register of the Privy Council, December 1, 1565.

The which day, in presence of the King and Queen's Majesties and Lords of Secret Council, compeared Master John Spence of Condy, advocate to their Highnesses, and exponed how at their Majesties' command he had libelled summonses of treason against Archibald, Earl of Argyll, James, Earl of Murray, Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, Andrew, Earl of Rothes, Andrew, Lord Ochiltree, Robert, Lord Boyd, and divers others,—to compear in the next Parliament, to begin the fourth day of February next to come, to hear them decerned to have incurred the crime of *lese majestie*, and to have lost and forfeited life, lands, and goods. . . . But because there were

divers of the said persons outwith the realm . . . it behoved them be summoned by open proclamation at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and other Crosses next adjacent according to the common law; and thereupon desired a declaration and determination of their Majesties and Lords forsaid. The which being reasoned with good deliberation and advisement, their Majesties and Lordships find and declare that the said persons being summoned in manner above specified, the execution is as sufficient in all respects as if the same summonses were execute upon them personally or at their dwelling-places.

Murray's Reception by Elizabeth.

Knox's Continuator (cf. p. 260), *Laing's Knox*, vol. ii. p. 513.

By means of the French Ambassador, called Monsieur De Four, his true friend, he [Murray] obtained audience. The Queen, with a fair countenance, demanded "how he, being a rebel to her Sister of Scotland, durst take the boldness upon him to come within her realm?" These, and the like words got he, instead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private discourse, the Ambassador being absent, she refused to give the Lords any support, denying plainly that ever she had promised any such thing as to support them, saying, "She never meant any such thing in that way;" albeit her greatest familiars knew the contrary. In the end the Earl of Murray said to her, "Madam, whatsoever thing your Majesty meant in your heart,

we are thereof ignorant; but this much we know assuredly, that we had lately faithful promises of aid and support by your Ambassador and familiar servants, in your name; and further, we have your own handwriting, confirming the said promises." And afterward he took his leave, and came northward from London towards Newcastle. After the Earl of Murray his departure from the Court the Queen sent them some aid, and writ unto the Queen of Scotland in their favour, whether she had promised it in private to the Earl of Murray, or whether she repented her of the harsh reception of the Earl of Murray.

[This account of Elizabeth's interview with Murray should be compared with that given by Melville (p. 60).]

Mary's Relations with her Husband.

Randolph to Cecil, from Edinburgh, January 16, 1566. *Wright's Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 216.

This court of long time hath been very quiet, small resort of any, and many of those that come but slenderly welcome for the great and importunate suit made by them for my Lord of Murray and the rest, who by no means can find any favour at her Grace's hands, in so much that Robert Melville hath received for resolute answer that let the Queen of England do for them what she will, they shall never live in Scotland and she together. . . .

I cannot tell what mislikings of late there hath been between her Grace and her husband; he presses earnestly for the matrimonial crown, which she is loth hastily to grant, but willing to keep somewhat

in store until she know how well he is worthy to enjoy such a sovereignty, and therefore it is thought that the Parliament for a time shall be deferred, but hereof I can write no certainty.

Randolph to Cecil, from Edinburgh, February 7, 1565.
Wright's Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 219.

There was a bond lately devised in which the late Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, with divers Princes of Italy and the Queen mother [of France] suspected to be of the same confederacy, to maintain papistry throughout Christendom. This bond was sent out of France by Thornton, and is subscribed by this Queen. The copy whereof, remaining with her and the principal, to be returned very shortly, as I hear, by Mr. Steven Wilson, a fit minister for such devilish devices. If the copy hereof can be gotten, it shall be sent as conveniently I may. . . .

[The bond referred to is the Holy League. Cf. *infra.*]

In this court divers contentions, quarrels, and debates; nothing so much sought as to maintain mischief and disorder. David [Rizzio] yet retaineth his place, not without heart grief to many that see their sovereign guided chiefly by such a fellow.

Randolph to Cecil, from Berwick, February 14, 1566.
Stevenson's Selections.

There is a league concluded between the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and divers other Papist princes, for the overthrow of religion, as you shall

hear more by others, which is come to this Queen's hands, but not yet confirmed.

Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, from Berwick, March 6, 1566. *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 30.

Somewhat we are sure you have heard of divers discord and jars between this Queen and her husband, partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which, if it were not over well known, we would both be very loath to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him, whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly to describe the person [Rizzio]. You have heard of the man whom we mean of.

To come by the other thing which he desireth, which is the crown matrimonial, what is devised and concluded upon by him and the noblemen, you shall see by copies of the conditions between them and him, of which Mr. Randolph assureth me to have seen the principals, and taken the copies written with his own hand.

The time of execution and performance of these matters is before the Parliament, as near as it is. To this determination of theirs, there are privy in Scotland; these—Argyll, Morton, Boyd, Ruthven, and Lethington. In England these—Murray, Rothes,

Grange, myself, and the writer hereof. If persuasions to cause the Queen to yield to these matters do no good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the Queen's Majesty, our sovereign, shall be sought, and sued unto to accept his and their defence, with offers reasonable to her Majesty's contentment.

Agreement between Darnley and the Earls of Murray, Argyll, Glencairn, and Rothes, and Lords Boyd and Ochiltree.

Ruthven's Relation, Ed. of 1815.

Articles to be fulfilled by the lords.

1. The said earls, lords, and their complices, shall become, and by the tenor hereof become true subjects, men and servants to the noble and mighty Prince Henry, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, and husband to our sovereign lady; that they and all others that will do for them shall take a loyal and true part with the said noble Prince in all his actions, causes, and quarrels, against whomsoever, to the uttermost of their power. . . .

2. The said earls, lords, and their complices shall . . . by themselves and others that have voice in Parliament, consent, and by these presents do consent now as then, and then as now, to grant and give the crown matrimonial to the said noble Prince for all the days of his life. And if any person or

persons withstand or gainsay the same, the said earls, lords, and their complices shall take such part as the said noble Prince taketh, in whatsoever sort, for the obtaining of the said crown against all. . . .

3. The said earls, lords, and their complices shall fortify and maintain the said noble Prince in his just title to the crown of Scotland, failing of succession of our sovereign lady. . . .

4. As to the religion which was established by the Queen's Majesty, our sovereign, shortly after her arrival in this realm . . . they and every one of them shall maintain and fortify the same at their uttermost powers, by the help, supply, and maintenance of the said noble Prince.

. . . . . .

Articles to be fulfilled by Darnley.

1. The said noble Prince shall do his good-will to obtain them one remission, if they require the same, for all faults and crimes by-past, of whatsoever quality or condition they be. . . .

2. We shall not suffer, by our good-wills, the foresaid lords and their complices to be called or accused in Parliament, nor suffer any forfeiture to be laid against them. . . .

3. That the said earls, lords, and their complices, returning within the realm of Scotland, we shall suffer or permit them to use and enjoy all their lands, tacks, steadings, and benefices, that they or any of them had before their passage into England. . . .

4. As to the said earls, lords, and their complices' religion, we are contented and consent that they use

the same, conform to the Queen's Majesty's act and proclamation made thereupon, shortly after her Highness's return out of France. . . .

. . . . . .

Bond for Rizzio's Murder—Ruthven's Relation.

Be it kend [known] to all men by these present letters: We, Henry, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, and husband to the Queen's Majesty, for so much we having consideration of the gentle and good nature, with many other good qualities in her Majesty, we have thought pity, and also think it great conscience to us that are her husband, to suffer her to be abused or seduced by certain privy persons, wicked and ungodly . . . especially a stranger Italian called Davie . . . we have devised to take these privy persons, enemies to her Majesty, us, the nobility and commonwealth, to punish them according to their demerits, and in case of any difficulty, to cut them off immediately, and to take and slay them wherever it happeneth. And because we cannot accomplish the same without the assistance of others, therefore have we drawn certain of our nobility, earls, lords, barons, freeholders, gentlemen, merchants, and craftsmen, to assist us in our enterprise, which cannot be finished without great hazard. . . . We bind and oblige us, our heirs and successors, to the said earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, freeholders, merchants, and craftsmen, their heirs and successors, that we shall accept the same feud upon us, and fortify and maintain them at the uttermost of our power, and shall be friend to their friend, and enemy to their enemies,

and shall neither suffer them nor theirs to be molested nor troubled in their bodies, lands, goods, nor possessions so far as lieth in us. And if any person would take any of the said earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, freeholders, merchants, or craftsmen, for enterprising and assisting with us for the achieving of our purpose, because it may chance to be done in presence of the Queen's majesty, or within her palace of Holyrood-house, we, by the word of a prince, shall accept and take the same on us now as then and then as now. . . . In witness whereof we have subscribed this with our own hand at Edinburgh, the 1st of March 1565.

1566.—April 2. Mary's Description of the Murder of Rizzio, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her Ambassador in Paris.

Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 411.

Most Reverend Father, we greet you well. . . . It is not unknown to you how our Parliament was appointed to the 12th of this instant month of March, to which these that were our rebels and fugitives in England were summoned to have heard themselves forfeited. The day thereof approaching, we required the King our husband to assist us in passing thereto, who, as we are assured, being persuaded by our rebels that were fugitive, with the advice and fortification of the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, their assisters and complices, who were with us in company, by their suggestion refused to pass with us thereto, as we suppose because of his facility, and subtle means of the Lords foresaid, he condescended to advance the pretended religion published

here, to put the rebels in their rooms and possessions which they had of before, and but [without] our knowledge grant to them a remit of all their trespasses. . . . Upon the 9th day of March instant, we being, at even about seven hours, in our cabinet at our supper, sociated with our sister the Countess of Argyll, our brother the Commendator [lay Abbot] of Holyrood-house, Laird of Criech, Arthur Erskine, and certain others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by reason of our evil disposition, being counselled to sustain ourselves with flesh [in Lent], having also then passed almost to the end of seven months in our birth; the King our husband came to us in our cabinet, placed him beside us at our supper. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay, with their assisters, clothed in warlike manner, to the number of eight score persons or thereby, kept and occupied the whole entry to our Palace of Holyrood-house. . . . In that meantime, the Lord Ruthven, clothed in like manner, with his complices, took entry perforce in our cabinet, and there seeing our secretary, David Riccio, among others our servants, declared he had to speak with him. In this instant we inquired the King our husband if he knew anything of that enterprise? who denyed the same. Also we commanded the Lord Ruthven, under the pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our presence, declaring we should exhibit the said David before the Lords of Parliament to be punished, if in any sort he had offended. Notwithstanding, the said Lord Ruthven perforce invaded him in our presence (he then for refuge took safeguard, having retired him behind our back), and with

his complices cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands in him, struck him over our shoulders with whingers [hangers], one part of them standing before our face with bended daggs [pistols], most cruelly took him forth of our cabinet, and at the entry of our chamber give him fifty-six strokes with whingers and swords, in doing whereof we were not only struck with great dread, but also by sundry considerations, were most justly induced to take extreme fear of our life. After this deed immediately the said Lord Ruthven, coming again in our presence, declared how they and their complices foresaid were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable; how we were abused by the said David whom they had actually put to death, namely, in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion, debarring of the Lords which were fugitive, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes and nations with whom we were confederate; putting also upon Council the Lords Bothwell and Huntly, who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself, that the Lords banished in England were the morn to resort toward us, and would take plain part with them in our contrary; and that the King was willing to remit them their offences. We all this time took no less care of ourselves than for our Council and nobility, maintainers of our authority, being with us in our Palace for the time; to wit, the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Athole, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Sir James Balfour, and certain others our familiar servitors, against whom the enterprise was conspired as well as for David;

and namely to have hanged the said Sir James in cords. Yet, by the providence of God, the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell escaped forth of their chambers in our Palace at a back window by some cords. . . . The Earl of Athole and Sir James Balfour by some other means, with the Lords Fleming and Livingstone, obtained deliverance of their invasion. The Provost and town of Edinburgh having understood this tumult in our Palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number and desired to have seen our presence, intercommuned with us, and to have known our welfare; to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely threatened by these Lords, who in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the wall. So this community being commanded by our husband, retired them to quietness.

All that night we were detained in captivity within our chamber, not permitting us to have inter-communed scarcely with our servant-women nor domestic servitors. Upon the morn hereafter proclamation was made in our husband's name, by [without] our advice, commanding all Prelates and other Lords convened to Parliament to retire themselves of our burgh of Edinburgh. That whole day we were kept in that firmance [custody], our familiar servitors and guard being debarred from our service, and we watched by the committers of these crimes, to whom a part of the community of Edinburgh, to the number of four score persons, assisted.

The Earl of Murray that same day at even, accompanied with the Earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, Grange,

tutor of Pitcur, and others who were with him in England, came to them, and seeing our state and entertainment, was moved with natural affection toward us. Upon the morn he assembled the enterprisers of their late crime, and such of our rebels as came with him. In their Council they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain while [till] we had approved in Parliament all their wicked enterprises, established their religion, and given the King the crown matrimonial and the whole government of our realm; or else, by all appearance, firmly prepared to have put us to death, or detained us in perpetual captivity. To avoid them of our Palace, with their guard and assisters, the King promised to keep us that night in sure guard, and that but [without] compulsion he should cause us in Parliament approve all their conspiracies. By this means he caused them to retire them of our Palace.

This being granted, . . . we declared our state to the King our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled, in case he permitted these Lords to prevail in our contrare [against us], and how unacceptable it would be to other Princes, our confederates, in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire in our company to Dunbar, which we did under night, accompanied with the captain of our guard, Arthur Erskine, and two others only. . . . Soon after our coming to Dunbar, sundry of our nobility, zealous of our weal, such as the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Marshal,

Athole, Caithness; Bishop of St. Andrews, with his kin and friends; Lords Hume, Sempill, and infinite others assembled to us. . . . The Earl of Moray and Argyll sent diverse messages to procure our favour, to whom in likewise, for certain respects, by advice of our Nobility and Council being with us, we have granted remission, under condition they nowise apply themselves to these last conspirators, and retire themselves in Argyle during our will. . . . We remained in Dunbar five days, and after returned to Edinburgh well accompanied with our subjects. The last conspirators, with their assisters, have removed themselves forth of the same before, and being presently fugitive from our laws, we have caused by our charges their whole fortunes, strength, and houses to be rendered to us; have caused make inventory of their goods and gear, and intend further to pursue them with all vigour. Whereunto we are assured to have the assistance of our husband, who hath declared to us, and in presence of the Lords of our Privy Council, his innocence of this last conspiracy, how he never counselled, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same. Thus far only he ever saw himself, that at the enticement and persuasion of the late conspirators he, without our advice or knowledge, consented to the bringing home forth of England of the Earls of Moray, Glencairn, Rothes, and other persons with whom we were offended. This ye will consider by his declaration made hereupon, which at his desire hath been published at the market crosses of this our Realm . . . of Edinburgh, the second day of April 1566.

SECTION IV

MURDER OF RIZZIO TO MURDER OF DARNLEY

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Relations between Mary and Darnley.

Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, from Berwick, March 27, 1566. *Wright's Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 235.

My Lord of Murray by a special servant sent unto us desireth your Honour's favour to these noblemen [the fugitives], as his dear friends, and such as for his sake hath given this adventure.

Bequests to the King.

Robertson's Inventories.

Before the birth of her son, Mary made a will, of which no copy is extant. But Mr. Joseph Robertson found an inventory of her jewels, made at the same time, with marginal notes, in the Queen's own handwriting, indicating their disposition. There are fifteen entries "Au Roy," from which we quote the most interesting marginal note:—

It was with this that I was married, to the King, who gave it me.	A diamond ring enamelled in red.

There are also bequests to the Crown of Scotland, the Earl and Countess of Lennox, and the Earl of Murray, also a jewel with the marginal note:—

"To Joseph [Riccio], which his brother gave me."

QUEEN MARY'S SIGNET-RING AND MONOGRAM.

To face page 82.

At the end of the first section of the inventory, there is the following note in Mary's hand:—

"I wish that these provisions be carried out in case that the child does not survive me, but if it live, it is to inherit everything. MARIE R."

Mary's Will as described in the "Book of Articles" (cf. p. 144).

Hosack's Mary, vol. i. p. 525.

This her rooted disdain still continuing a little before her deliverance of her birth in May or June 1566, in making of her latter will and testament, she named and appointed Bothwell among others to the tutele [guardianship] of her birth [child] and issue, and government of the realm in case of her decease, and unnaturally excluded the father from all kind of cure and regiment over his own child, advancing Bothwell above all others to be lieutenant-general. . . . She disponit also her whole moveables to others beside her husband.

The Birth of Prince James.

Melville's Memoirs, p. 158.

All this while I lay in the castle of Edinburgh, praying night and day for her Majesty's good and happy delivery of a fair son. This prayer being granted, I was the first that was advertised by the Lady Boyne [Mary Beaton, just married to Ogilvie of Boyne], in her Majesty's name to part with diligence, the 19th day of June in the year 1566,

between ten and eleven hours before noon. It struck twelve hours when I took my horse, and was at Berwick that same night. The fourth day after, I was at London, and met first with my brother, who sent and advertised the Secretary Cecil that same night of my coming and of the birth of the Prince, willing him to keep it up, until my being at Court to show it myself unto her Majesty, who was for the time at Greenwich, where her Majesty was in great merriness and dancing after supper; but so soon as the Secretary Cecil rounded the news in her ear of the Prince's birth all merriness was laid aside for that night, every one that were present marvelling what might move so sudden a changement; for the Queen sat down with her hand upon her haffet [cheek], and bursting out to some of her ladies, how that the Queen of Scotland was lighter of a fair son, and that she was but a barren stock. . . . The next morning was appointed unto me to get audience . . she . . . said, that the joyful news of the Queen her sister's delivery of a fair son, which I had sent unto her by Master Cecil, had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which has held her fifteen days. Therefore she welcomed me with a merry volt [countenance], and thanked me for the diligence I had used. All this she said before I had delivered unto her my letter of credence. After that she had read it, I declared how that the Queen had hasted me towards her Majesty, whom she knew of all other her friends would be gladdest of the good news of her birth, albeit dear bought with the peril of her life; for I said that she was so sore handled in the

meantime that she wished never to have been married. This I said to give her a little scare to marry, by the way; for so my brother had informed me, because she boasted sometimes to marry the Archduke Charles of Austria, when any man pressed her to declare a second person [heir]. Then I requested her Majesty to be a gossip unto the Queen, for our cummer are called gossips in England; which she granted gladly to be.

Herries's Memoirs, p. 79. (*Abbotsford Club.*)

About two o'clock in the afternoon the King came to visit the Queen, and was desirous to see the child. "My Lord," says the Queen, "God has given you and me a son, begotten by none but you!" At which words the King blushed, and kissed the child. Then she took the child in her arms, and discovering his face, said, "My Lord, here I protest to God, and as I shall answer to Him at the great day of judgment, this is your son, and no other man's son! And I am desirous that all here, with ladies and others, bear witness; for he is so much your own son, that I fear it will be the worse for him hereafter!" Then she spoke to Sir William Stanley. "This," says she, "is the son whom (I hope) shall first unite the two kingdoms of Scotland and England!" Sir William answered, "Why, Madam? Shall he succeed before your Majesty and his father?" "Because," says she, "his father has broken to me." The King was by and heard all. Says he, "Sweet Madam, is this your promise that you made to forgive and forget all?" The Queen answered, "I

have forgiven all, but will never forget. What if Faudonside's pistol had shot, what would have become of him and me both? or what estate would you have been in? God only knows; but we may suspect." "Madam," answered the King, "these things are all past." "Then," says the Queen, "let them go."

Rejoicings in Edinburgh.

Claude Nau's Memorials, p. 27.

Immediately upon the birth of the Prince, all the artillery of the castle was discharged, and the lords, the nobles, and the people gathered in St. Giles' Church to thank God for the honour of having an heir to their kingdom. After the birth, certain gentlemen were despatched to the King of France, the Queen of England, and the Duke of Savoy, to ask them to be godfathers and godmothers to the Prince, to which they very gladly consented.

Elizabeth and the Rebels.

Mary to Elizabeth, July 1566. *Keith's History*, vol. ii. p. 442.

Right excellent, right high and mighty Princess, our dearest sister and cousin, in our most hearty manner we commend us unto you: We have understood by your declaration made . . . to our dearest brother the King of France, . . . that neither ye had aided nor were minded to aid and support our rebels against us, which we have always taken to be undoubtedly true, . . . yet we have certain knowledge

that our said rebels were supported with the sum of three thousand crowns, sent to the Lady Murray by Master Randolph about the middle of August by-past, as the man who carried the money has confessed in his own presence; which his proceeding as we have just occasion to think most strange . . . we . . . have taken occasion to send him home to you, where his behaviour in this case may be tried, and he ordered accordingly at your discretion.

Mary's Treatment of Darnley.

M. le Croc, French Ambassador in Scotland, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Scottish Ambassador in France, from Jedburgh, October 15, 1566. *Keith's History,* vol. ii. p. 448.

The Queen is now returned from Stirling to Edinburgh. . . . The King, however, abode at Stirling, and he told me there that he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of desperation. . . . Since that time the Earl of Lennox his father came to visit him; and he has written a letter to the Queen signifying that it is not in his power to divert his son from his intended voyage, and prays her Majesty to use her influence therein. This letter from the Earl of Lennox the Queen received on Michaelmas Day in the morning; and that same evening the King arrived here about ten of the clock. . . . Early next morning the Queen sent for me, and for all the Lords and other counsellors. As we were all met in their Majesties' presence, the Bishop of Ross by the Queen's commandment declared to the Council

the King's intention to go beyond sea; for which purpose he had a ship lying ready to sail; . . . and thereafter the Queen prayed the King to declare in presence of the Lords and before me the reason of his projected departure. . . . She likewise took him by the hand, and besought him for God's sake to declare if she had given him any cause for this resolution; and entreated he might deal plainly, and not spare her. Moreover, all the Lords likewise said to him, that if there was any fault on their part, upon his declaring it they were ready to perform it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him, that his departure must certainly affect either his own or the Queen's honour—that if the Queen had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the same would affect her Majesty; as, on the other hand, if he should go away without giving any cause for it, this thing could not at all redound to his praise. . . . The King at last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation; and thereupon he went out of the chamber of presence, saying to the Queen, "Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space." . . . I never saw her Majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured; nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects, as at present is by her wise conduct, for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division.

Buchanan's Detection.

Not long after her deliverance, on a day very early, accompanied with very few that were privy of her counsel, she went down to the water-side, at the place called the New Haven; and while all marvelled

whither she went in such haste, she suddenly entered into a ship there provided for her; which ship was provided by . . . Bothwell's servants, and famous robbers and pirates. With this train of thieves, all honest men wondering at it, she betook herself to sea, taking not any other with her, no not of her gentlemen, nor necessary attendants for common honesty. In Alloa castle, where the ship arrived, how she behaved herself, I had rather every man should with himself imagine it, than hear me declare it. This one thing I dare affirm, that in all her words and doings, she never kept any regard, I will not say of Queen-like Majesty, but not of matron-like modesty. . . . In the meantime, the King being commanded out of sight, and with injuries and miseries banished from her, kept himself close, with a few of his friends, at Stirling. . . . Yet his heart, obstinately fixed in loving her, could not be restrained, but he must needs come back to Edinburgh, on purpose, with all kind of serviceable humbleness, to get some entry into her former favour, and to recover the kind society of marriage. Who once again being with most dishonourable disdain excluded, returned from whence he came, there to bewail his woeful miseries, as in a solitary desert.

Nau's Memorials, p. 29.

About the beginning of August the Queen crossed the sea and went to Alloa, a house belonging to the Earl of Mar, where she remained for some days in the company of the ladies of her court and the said earl.

Mary and the Poor.

The Lennox, vol. ii. p. 429.

Trusty Friend,—Forasmuch as it is heavily bemoaned and piteously complained to us by this poor woman, that ye have violently ejected her with a company of poor bairns forth of her kindly room, after [although] willing to pay your duty thankfully: therefore (in respect that if ye be so extreme as to depauperate the poor woman and her bairns) we will desire you to show some favour and accept them in their steading [habitation] as ye have done in times bygone; the which we doubt not but ye will do for this our request, and as ye shall report our thanks and pleasure for the same. At Alloa, the penult of July 1566.

MARIE R.

To our trusty friend, Robert Murray of Abercairney, this be delivered.

The Ride to Hermitage.

Diurnal of Occurrents.

Upon the 7th day of October 1566 years, our sovereign lady, accompanied with the nobility of this realm, departed of Edinburgh towards Jedburgh, to hold a justice eyre there, which was proclaimed to be held upon the eighth day of the same month.

Upon the same day, James, Earl Bothwell . . . being sent by our sovereigns to bring in certain thieves and malefactors of Liddesdale to the justice eyre . . . chanced upon a thief called John Elliot

of the Park. . . The said earl shot him with a dagg [pistol] in the body. . . . The said John perceiving himself shot and the Earl fallen, he went to him where he lay, and gave him three wounds, one in the body, one in the head, and one in the hand; and my lord gave him two strokes with a hanger, . . . and the said thief departed, and my lord lay in swoon, while his servants came and carried him to the Hermitage. . . .

Upon the fifteenth day of the said month of October, our sovereign lady rode from Jedburgh to the Hermitage [about 30 miles], wherein my Lord Bothwell was lying in mending of his wound, and spake with the same earl, and returned again the same night to Jedburgh.

Nau's Memorials, p. 30.

The Earl of Bothwell was so dangerously wounded in the hand that every one thought he would die. He thought so himself. Such being the case, her Majesty was both solicited and advised to pay him a visit at his house, called the Hermitage, in order that she might learn from him the state of affairs in these districts, of which the said lord was hereditary governor. With this object in view, she went very speedily, in the company of the Earl of Moray and some other lords, in whose presence she conversed with Bothwell for some hours, and on the same day returned to Jedburgh.

Buchanan on the Ride to Hermitage.

Detection.

When the Queen had resolved to set out for Jedburgh to hold the Assizes, about the beginning of October, Bothwell made an expedition into Liddesdale. While he was conducting himself there in a manner worthy neither of the place to which he had been raised nor of his family and of what might have been expected of him, he was wounded by a dying robber. He was carried to the castle of Hermitage in a condition such as to make his recovery uncertain. When this news is carried to the Queen at Borthwick, although it was a severe winter, she flies off like a mad woman, with enormous journeys first to Melrose and then to Jedburgh. Although reliable reports about his life had reached that place, her eager mind was unable to retain self-control and to prevent her from displaying her shameless lust. At an unfavourable season, in spite of the danger of the roads and of robbers, she threw herself into the expedition with such an escort as no one slightly more honourable would have dared to entrust with life and fortune. Furthermore, when she returned to Jedburgh she arranged, with extraordinary zeal and care, for Bothwell's being carried thither. After he was brought there, their life and conversation was little in accordance with the dignity of either of them.

[The distance from Borthwick Castle to Jedburgh is about forty miles.]

The Queen's Illness at Jedburgh.

John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, to the Archbishop of Glasgow. October 27, 1566. *Keith's History*, vol. iii. p. 286.

My Lord,—After most hearty commendations, I write upon haste to your Lordship with Saunders Bog, who was sent by M. de Croc this last Wednesday to advertise of the Queen's Majesty's sickness, which at that time was wondrous great; for assuredly her Majesty was so handled with great vehemency, that all that were with her were desperate of her convalescence. Nevertheless, soon after the departing of Saunders Bog, her Majesty got some relief, which lasted till Thursday at ten hours at even, at which time her Majesty swooned again, and failed in her sight; her feet and her hands were cold, which were handled by extreme rubbing, drawing, and other cures, by the space of four hours, that no creature could endure greater pain; and through the vehemency of this cure her Majesty got some relief, till about six hours in the morning on Friday, that her Majesty became dead, and all her members cold, eyes closed, mouth fast, and feet and arms stiff and cold. Nevertheless, Master Nau, who is a perfect man of his craft, would not give the matter over in that manner, but of new began to draw her knees, legs, arms, feet, and the rest, with such vehement torments, which lasted the space of three hours, till her Majesty recovered again her sight and speech, and got a great sweating, which was held the relief of the sickness, because it was on the ninth day,

which commonly is called the crisis of the sickness, and so here thought the cooling of the fever. And since then continually, thanks to God, her Majesty convalesces better and better. . . . Always, I assure your Lordship, in all this sickness, her Majesty used herself marvellous godly and Catholic, and continually desired to hear speak of God and godly prayers. . . .

[Mr. Small, in his "Queen Mary at Jedburgh" (p. 18), gives the following as the opinion of "a distinguished physician" on the illness:—"An attack of hæmatemesis, or effusion of blood into the stomach, subsequently discharged by vomiting; presenting also, possibly, hysterical complications, the whole induced by over-exertion and vexation."]

Marc Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Signory, from Paris, Nov. 6, 1566. *Venetian Calendar.*

The Ambassador from Scotland came to me to-day with the good news that his Queen . . . is so much better that it is hoped and almost believed that she is certain to live.

The illness was caused by her dissatisfaction at a decision made by the King, her husband, to go to a place twenty-five or thirty miles distant without assigning any cause for it; which departure so afflicted this unfortunate Princess, not so much for the love she bears him as from the consequences of his absence, which reduced her to the extremity heard of by your Serenity.

1566.—The Craigmillar Conference.

Buchanan's Detection.

About the 5th November she returned from Jedburgh to a village called Kelso, and there she received letters from the King. When she had read these in the presence of the Regent, the Earl of Huntly, and the Secretary, with a sad countenance, she said that unless by some means she were freed from the King her life would not be worth living; and that if it could be done in no other way, rather than live in such misery, she would take her life with her own hand. . . . When, about the end of November, she came to Craigmillar, a castle about two miles from Edinburgh, she commenced a similar conversation in the presence of the Earl of Moray (afterwards Regent, and now himself dead), the Earl of Argyle, and the Secretary. She mentioned what seemed to her a satisfactory plan. She projected a suit of divorce against the King, and doubted not but that it could easily be done, since they were in that degree of consanguinity which is forbidden by Canon Law for the contraction of matrimony, although they had been by letters easily exempted from that law. At this point some one raised an objection, that, if it were so managed, their son would be illegitimate, being born out of matrimony, and the more so that neither of the parents was ignorant of the causes that rendered the marriage null. She considered that reply for a little, and recognised its truth. Not daring to enter upon a scheme which would thus affect her son, she

abandoned her project of a divorce, nor did she ever afterwards let slip any opportunity of getting rid of the King, as may be readily gathered from what remains to tell.

The Protestation of the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, 1568, *Goodall's Examination*, vol. ii. pp. 316–321, from Cott. Lib. Calig., vol. i. p. 282.

[The following "Protestation" was drawn up by Queen Mary's advisers during the Westminster Conference (*infra*, pp. 143 *et seq.*), and was despatched to Huntly for his own and Argyll's signature. It was, however, seized and sent to Cecil, without its having reached its destination. It is placed here for the sake of comparison with Buchanan's account of the Conference. It may be noted here that in another document (Instructions and Articles to be advised on and agreed, so far as the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign, shall think expedient, at the meeting of the Lords in England, committed in credit by . . . her Grace's true faithful subjects—*Goodall*, vol. ii. p. 354), signed by Lords Huntly, Argyll, Crawford, Eglinton, Cassilis, Errol, Ogilvie, Fleming, and many others of Mary's supporters, the following sentence refers to this Conference:—"They caused make offers to our said Sovereign Lady, if her Grace would give remission to them that were banished at that time, to find causes of divorce, either for consanguinity, in respect they alleged the dispensation was not published, or else for adultery; or then [else] to get him convict of treason, because he consented to her Grace's retention in ward; or what other ways to despatch him; which altogether her Grace refused, as is manifestly known." The "Dispensation" is the Papal Dispensation for the Darnley marriage, Mary and Darnley being within the forbidden degrees.]

In the year of God 1566 years, in the month of December, or thereby, after her Highness's great and extreme sickness, and return from Jedburgh, her

Grace being in the castle of Craigmillar, accompanied by us above written [*i.e.* Huntly and Argyll], and by the Earls of Bothwell, Murray, and Secretary Lethington; the said Earl of Murray and Lethington came into the chamber of us the Earl of Argyll in the morning, we being in our bed; who, lamenting the banishment of the Earl of Morton, Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, with the rest of their faction, said, that the occasion of the murder of David, slain by them in presence of the Queen's Majesty, was to trouble and impesche [prevent] the parliament; wherein the Earl of Murray and others were to have been forfeited and declared rebels. And seeing that the same was chiefly for the welfare of the Earl of Murray, it should be esteemed ingratitude if he and his friends in reciprocal manner, did not strive all that in them lay for relief of the said banished ones; wherefor they thought that we, of our part, should have been as desirous thereto as they were.

And we agreeing to the same, to do all that was in us for their relief, providing that the Queen's Majesty should not be offended thereat; on this Lethington proposed and said, "That the nearest and best way to obtain the said Earl of Morton's pardon, was, to promise to the Queen's Majesty to find a means to make divorcement between her Grace and the King her husband, who had offended her Highness so highly in many ways."

And then they send to my Lord of Huntly, praying him to come to our chamber. . . . And thereon we four, viz., Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Murray, and Secretary Lethington, passed all to the Earl of

Bothwell's chamber, to understand his advice on the proposals; wherein he gainsaid no more than we.

So thereafter we passed altogether to the Queen's Grace; where Lethington, after he had remembered her Majesty of a great number of grievous and intolerable offences, that the King, as he said, ungrateful for the honour he had received from her Highness, had done to her Grace, and continued every day from bad to worse; proposed, "That if it pleased her Majesty to pardon the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, with their company, they should find the means with the rest of the nobility, to make divorcement between her Highness and the King her husband, which should not need her Grace to meddle therewith. To the which, it was necessary that her Majesty take heed to come to a decision therein, as well for her own relief as for the good of the realm; for he troubled her Grace and us all; and remaining with her Majesty, would not cease till he did her some other evil turn.

After these persuasions and divers others, which the said Lethington used, besides those which every one of us showed particularly to her Majesty to bring her to the said purpose, her Grace answered: That under two conditions she might agree to the same; the one, that the divorcement were made lawfully; the other, that it were not prejudicial to her son; otherwise her Highness would rather endure all torments, and abide the perils that might befall her in her Grace's lifetime. The Earl of Bothwell answered, "That he doubted not but the divorcement might be made without prejudice

of my Lord Prince in any way," alleging the example of himself, that he failed not to succeed to his father's heritage without any difficulty, albeit there was a divorce between him and his mother.

It was also proposed that, after their divorcement, the King should be alone in one part of the country, and the Queen's Majesty in another, or else that he should retire to another realm; and herein her Majesty said, "That peradventure he would change his course, and that it were better that she herself passed into France for a time, waiting till he acknowledged his fault." Then Lethington, taking the speech, said, "Madam, think you not we are here, of the principal members of your Grace's nobility and council, and that we shall find the means that your Majesty shall be quit of him without prejudice of your son. And albeit that my Lord of Murray here present be little less scrupulous for a Protestant, than your Grace is for a Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same." The Queen's Majesty answered, "I will that ye do nothing through which any spot may be laid upon my honour or conscience, and therefore I pray you, rather let the matter be in the condition that it is, abiding till God of His goodness put remedy thereto; lest you believing that you are doing me a service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure." "Madam," said Lethington, "let us guide the matter among us, and your Grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by Parliament."

So since the murder of the said Henry Stewart

followed this, we judge in our consciences, and hold for certain and truth, that the said Earl of Murray and Secretary Lethington were authors, inventors, devisers, counsellors, and sources of the said murder, in whatever manner, or by whatsoever persons, the same was executed.

Events immediately before the Murder of Darnley.

M. le Croc to the Archbishop of Glasgow, from Edinburgh. December 2, 1566. *Keith's History*, vol. i. p. 96.

The Queen is for the present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city. She is in the hands of the physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well; and do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words: *I could wish to be dead.* You know very well that the injury she has received is exceedingly great, and her Majesty will never forget it. The King, her husband, came to visit her at Jedburgh the very day after Captain Hay went away. He remained there but one single night; and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. . . . I think he intends to go away to-morrow; but in any event I'm much assured, as I always have been, that he won't be present at the baptism. To speak my mind freely to you . . . I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, unless God effectually put to His hand. The first is, the King will never humble himself as he ought; the other is, the Queen

can't perceive any one nobleman speaking with the King, but presently she suspects some contrivance among them.

M. le Croc to the Archbishop of Glasgow, from Glasgow. December 26, 1566. *Keith's History*, vol. i. p. 97.

The baptism of the Prince was performed Tuesday last, when he got the name of Charles James. It was the Queen's pleasure that he should bear the name James, together with that of Charles (the King of France's name). Everything at this solemnity was done according to the form of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. The King (Lord Darnley) had still given out that he would depart two days before the baptism, but when the time came on he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close within his own apartment. The very day of the baptism he sent three several times desiring me either to come and see him, or to appoint him an hour that he might come to me in my lodgings, so that I found myself obliged at last to signify to him that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the Queen, I had it in charge from the most Christian King to have no conference with him. . . . His bad deportment is incurable, nor can there ever be any good expected from him. . . . I can't pretend to foretell how all may turn; but I will say that matters can't subsist long as they are without being accompanied with sundry bad consequences. . . . The Queen behaved herself admirably well all the time of the baptism, and showed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this

made her forget in a good measure her former ailments. But I am of the mind, however, that she will give us some trouble as yet; nor can I be brought to think otherwise so long as she continues to be so pensive and melancholy.

An Incident of the Baptism.

Melville's Memoirs, p. 171.

At the principal banquet there fell out a great flaw and grudge among the Englishmen, for a Frenchman called Bastien devised a number of men formed like satyrs, with long tails and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the great hall upon a trim engine, marching, as it appeared, alone, with musicians clothed like maidens, playing upon all sorts of instruments and singing of music. But the satyrs were not content only to clear round, but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands, in such sort as the Englishmen supposed it had been devised and done in derision of them, daftly [foolishly] apprehending that which they should not seem to have understood. . . . So soon as they saw the satyrs wagging their tails* . . . they all sat down upon the bare floor behind the back

* It was a mediæval superstition, especially in France, that the English possessed tails, which had been affixed to their persons as a punishment for their ill-treatment of a saint; the names of St. Augustine and St. Thomas of Canterbury were used indifferently in this connection. *Cf.* Mr. George Neilson's "Caudatus Anglicus: A Mediæval Slander."

of the board, that they should not see themselves scorned, as they thought.

1566.—December 23. Restoration of the Consistorial Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Laing, II., 77, *from Privy Seal Record*, bk. 35, fol. 99.

A letter made restoring and reproving our sovereign's well beloved and trusty councillor, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate and legate of Scotland, to all and sundry his jurisdictions as well upon the south as north sides of the Forth within the diocese of St. Andrews, which pertained to the Archbishopric of the same, to be used by him and his commissaries in all time coming in the same manner and form of justice as it is now used. . . . At Stirling, this xxiii day of December, the year of God, 1566 years.

[The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts had been abolished in 1560. It was the Archbishop who pronounced the sentence of divorce between Bothwell and his wife, either in virtue of this general warrant, or by means of a special commission to try the case. On the one side, this restoration of the Consistorial Court is regarded as pointing to Mary's collusion with Bothwell, while controversialists, on the other side, would connect it with the proposal, made at Craigmillar, of a divorce between Mary and Darnley.]

Darnley's Illness.

Buchanan's Detection.

Before he had passed a mile from Stirling all the parts of his body were taken with such a sore ache

as it might easily appear that the same proceeded not of the force of any sickness, but by plain treachery. The token of which treachery, certain black pimples, so soon as he was come to Glasgow broke out over all his whole body, with so great ache and such pain throughout all his limbs, that he lingered out his life with very small hope of escape: and yet all this while, the Queen would not suffer so much as a physician once to come at him.

The Earl of Bedford to Cecil, from Berwick, January 9, 1566. *Foreign Calendar.*

The King is now at Glasgow with his father, and there lies full of the small-pox, to whom the Queen has sent her physician.

Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, from Edinburgh, January 20, 1567. *Keith's History*, vol. i. p. 101.

For the King our husband, God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us is semblablement well known to God and the world; specially our own indifferent subjects see it, and in their hearts, we doubt not, condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall aye be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any way but honourably; howsoever he, his father, and their fautors speak, which we know want no good will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds.

The Archbishop of Glasgow to Queen Mary, from Paris, January 17, 1567. *Keith's History*, vol. i. p. 103.

I have heard some murmuring . . . that there be some surprise to be trafficked in your country, but he [the Spanish ambassador] would never let me know of any particular, only assured me he had written to his master to know if by that way he can try any further, and that he was advertised and counselled to cause me haste toward you herewith. . . . Finally, I would beseech your Majesty right humbly to cause the captains of your guard be diligent in their office; for notwithstanding that I have no particular occasion wherein I desire it, yet can I not be out of fear till I hear of your news. . . . And so I pray the eternal Lord to preserve your Majesty from all dangers, with long life and good health.

The Visit to Glasgow and the Murder.

Buchanan's Detection (First Scots translation, in *Anderson's Collections*, vol. ii. pp. 17–24).

[Buchanan's account of Queen Mary's visit to Glasgow should be supplemented by a comparison with Crawford's "Deposition" (pp. 226–231), with the Glasgow Letter (pp. 168–194), and with the passage from Nau's "Memorials" on p. 111.]

Herself goes to Glasgow; she pretends the cause of her journey to be to see the King alive, whose death she had continually gaped for the month before. But what was indeed the true cause of that journey, every man may plainly perceive by her letters to Bothwell. Being now out of care of her son, whom she had in her own ward, bending herself to the

slaughter of her husband, to Glasgow she goes, accompanied with the Hamiltons, and other the King's natural enemies.

Bothwell, as it was between them before accorded, provides all things ready that were needful to accomplish the heinous act; First of all, a house, not commodious for a sick man, nor comely for a King, for it was both riven and ruinous, and had stood empty without any dweller for divers years before, in a place of small resort, between old falling walls of two kirks, near a few almshouses for poor beggars. And that no commodious means for committing that mischief might be wanting, there is a postern door in the Town Wall, hard by the house, whereby they might easily pass away into the fields. In choosing of the place, she would needs have it thought that they had respect to the wholesomeness. And to avoid suspicion that this was a feigned pretence, herself the two nights before the day of the murder, lay there in a lower room, under the King's chamber. And as she did curiously put off the shows of suspicion from herself, so the execution of the slaughter she was content to have committed to another.

About three days before the King was slain, she practised to set her brother, Lord Robert, and him at deadly feud, making reckoning that it should be gain to her, whichsoever of them had perished. For matter to ground their dissension, she made rehearsal of the speech that the King had had with her concerning her brother; and when they both so grew in talk, as the one seemed to charge the other with the lie, at last they were in a manner come from

words to blows. But while they were both laying their hands on their weapons, the Queen feigning as though she had been perilously afraid of that which she earnestly desired, called the Earl of Murray, her other brother, to the parting, to this intent, that she might either presently bring him in danger to be slain himself, or in time to come to bear the blame of such mischief as then might have happened. . . .

When all things were ready prepared for performing this cruel fact . . . the Queen, for manners' sake, after supper, goes up to the King's lodging. There being determined to show him all the tokens of reconciled good will, she spent certain hours in his company, with countenance and talk much more familiar than she had used in six or seven months before. At the coming in of Paris, she broke off her talk and prepared to depart. This Paris was a young man born in France, and had lived certain years in the houses of Bothwell and Seton, and afterwards with the Queen. Whereas the other keys of that lodging were in custody of the King's servants, Paris, by feigning certain fond and slender causes, had in keeping the keys which Bothwell kept back, of the back gate and the postern. He was in special trust with Bothwell and the Queen, touching their secret affairs. His coming (as it was before agreed among them) was a watchword that all was ready for the matter. As soon as the Queen saw him, she rose up immediately, and feigning another cause to depart, she said, "Alas! I have much offended toward Sebastian this day, that I came not in a mask to his marriage." This Sebastian was an Avernois

[Auvergnois], a man in great favour with the Queen, for his cunning in music, and his merry jesting, and was married the same day. The King thus left, in manner, alone, in a desolate place, the Queen departs, accompanied with the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Cassilis, that attended upon her. After that she was come into her chamber, after midnight, she was in long talk with Bothwell, none being present but the captain of her guard. And when he also withdrew himself, Bothwell was there left alone, without other company, and shortly after retired into his own chamber. He changed his apparel, because he would be unknown of such as met him, and put on a loose cloak, such as the Swartrytters * wear, and so went forward through the watch to execute his intended traitorous fact. The whole order of the doing thereof may be easily understood by their confessions who were put to death for it.

Bothwell, after the deed was ended that he went for, returned, and as if he had been ignorant of all that was done, he gat him to bed. The Queen, in the meantime, in great expectation of the success, how finely she played her part (as she thought) it is marvell to tell; for she not once stirred at the noise of the fall of the house, which shook the whole town, nor at the fearful outcries that followed, and confused cries of the people (for I think there happened her not any new thing unlooked for) till Bothwell, feigning himself afraid, rose again out of his bed, and came to her with the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Athole, and with the wives of the Earls

* German. Black Riders, or heavy cavalry.

of Mar and Athole, and with the Secretary. There, while the monstrous chance was in telling, while every one wondered at the thing, that the King's lodging was even from the very foundation blown up in the air, and the King himself slain; in this amazedness and confused fear of all sorts of persons, only that same heroical heart of the Queen maintained itself, so far from casting herself down into base lamentations and tears, unbeseeming the royal name, blood, and estate, that she matched, or rather far surmounted all credit of the constancy of any in former times. This also proceeded of the same nobility of courage, that she sent out the most part of them that were then about her, to inquire out the manner of the doing, and commanded the soldiers that watched to follow, and she herself settled her to rest, with a countenance so quiet, and mind so untroubled, that she sweetly slept till the next day at noon. But lest she should appear void of all naturalness at the death of her husband, by little and little, at length she kept her close, and proclaimed a mourning not long to endure.

Mary's Description of the Murder.

Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, February 11 [10?], 1567. *Keith's History*, vol. i. p. 101.

We have received this morning your letters of the 27th January by your servant Robert Dury, containing in one part such advertisement as we find by effect over true. Albeit the success has not altogether been such as the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived in their mind, and had put it

in execution, if God in His mercy had not preserved us and reserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which as it should remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all. The matter is horrible and so strange as we believe the like was never heard of in any country. This night past, being the 9th February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the King was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with such a vehemency, that of the whole lodging, walls, and other, there is nothing remained, no, not a stone above another, but all carried far away or dashed in dross to the very ground-stone. It must be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine. By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not as yet. We doubt not but according to the diligence our Council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be used shortly; and the same being discovered, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigour as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always whoever have taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourselves it was dressed as well for us as for the King; for we lay the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, and were then accompanied with the most part of the Lords that are in this town that same night at midnight, and of every chance tarried not all night, by reason of some mask in the Abbey: but we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head. We despatched the

bearer upon the sudden, and therefore write to you the more shortly. . . .

Nau's Memorials, p. 33.

He [the King] went to Glasgow, where he was seized with the small-pox. He sent several times for the Queen, who was very ill, having been injured by a fall from her horse at Seton. At last she went, stayed with him, and attended him on his return to Edinburgh. . . . On his return to Edinburgh, the King lodged in a small house outside the town, which he had chosen in the report of James Balfour and some others. This was against the Queen's wishes, who was anxious to take him to Craigmillar, for he could not stay in Holyrood Palace lest he should give infection to the Prince. On his own account, too, he did not wish any one to see him in his present condition. . . . While he was in this house, the King was often visited by the Queen, with whom he was now perfectly reconciled. He promised to give her much information of the utmost importance to the life and quiet of both of them. . . . He warned her more particularly to be on her guard against Lethington, who, he said, was planning the ruin of the one by the means of the other. . . . That very night, as her Majesty was about to leave the King, she met Paris, Lord Bothwell's *valet-de-chambre*, and noticing that his face was all blackened with gunpowder, she exclaimed in the hearing of many of the lords, just as she was mounting her horse, "Jesu, Paris, how begrimed you are!" At this he turned very red.

On the 10th of February 1567, about three or

four o'clock in the morning, a match was put to the train of gunpowder, which had been placed under the King's house. It was afterwards made public that this had been done by the command and device of the Earls of Bothwell and Morton, James Balfour, and some others, who always afterwards pretended to be most diligent in searching out the murder which they themselves had committed. Morton had secretly returned from England, to which he had been banished.

This crime was the result of a bond into which they had entered. It was written by Alexander Hay, at that time one of the clerks of the Council, and signed by the Earls of Moray, Huntly, Bothwell, and Morton, by Lethington, James Balfour, and others, who had combined for this purpose. They protested that they were acting for the public good of the realm, pretending that they were freeing the Queen from the bondage and misery into which she had been reduced by the King's behaviour. . . . He was but deceiving the Queen, whom they often blamed for so faithfully having come to a good understanding with her husband; and they told her that he was putting a knife not only to their throats but to her own.

The King's body was blown into the garden by the violence of the explosion, and a poor English valet of his, who slept in his room, was there killed. . . . Earl Bothwell was much suspected of this villainous and detestable murder. . . . If we may judge by the plots, deeds, and contrivances of his associates, it would seem that after having used him to rid themselves of the King, they designed to make

Bothwell their instrument to ruin the Queen, their true and lawful sovereign.

Their plan was this, to persuade her to marry the Earl of Bothwell, so that they might charge her with being in the plot against her late husband, and a consenting party to his death. This they did shortly after, appealing to the fact that she had married the murderer.

Buchanan (*Translated from History*, xx. 35).

The Archbishop of St. Andrews, who lived nearest, willingly undertook the task of killing the King, when it was offered to him, both on account of old enmities, and in the hope of bringing the succession nearer his own family. He chose, accordingly, six or eight of the most abandoned of his retainers, and entrusted the matter to them, giving them the keys of the King's lodging. They entered very quietly into his chamber, strangled him as he lay sleeping, and carried his body through the postern into a garden beside the walls. Then, at a given signal, fire was applied to the house.

[The question as to the manner of Darnley's death has given rise to considerable discussion. The depositions of Hay, Hepburn, and Paris (vide pp. 144, 233–236) agree in representing that the King was killed by the explosion. On the other hand, Drury, who wrote to Cecil on 24th April [Foreign Calendar], and Count Moretta, the agent of the Duke of Savoy, who was in Edinburgh [Labanoff, vii. 108], state that he was strangled. The facts that the bodies of Darnley and his servant, Taylor, were found together, in the garden, at some little distance from the house, without violent injury; that Darnley's pelisse and slippers were found beside him; and that the other bodies were found among the ruins, must be taken into account in forming a judgment on the question.]

SECTION V

FROM THE MURDER OF DARNLEY TO THE FLIGHT INTO ENGLAND

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1567.—April 19. Mary's Capture by Bothwell.

[The Register of the Privy Council tells that, on February 12th, the Queen offered to the first revealer of the crime, "although he be one culpable and participant of the said

crime," a reward of two thousand pounds and "ane honest yeirlie rent." Public opinion pointed to Bothwell as the murderer, and anonymous placards appeared in the streets of Edinburgh accusing him. Lennox approached the Queen demanding a trial. On March 1st (in reply to his letter of February 26th) Mary wrote asking a list of names. He sent, on the 17th, the names of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, David Chalmers, John Spens, Francis Bastian, John de Bourdeaux, and Joseph Riccio,—the last four were attendants on the Queen. On March 28th the Privy Council fixed the trial for April 12th. On the 11th, Lennox wrote asking a postponement of the trial and the imprisonment of the persons he had named, or whom he might suspect. The request was not granted, and the trial took place on the 12th. The Earl of Argyll, hereditary Lord-Justice, took his place as President of the Court, and the Earl of Caithness was Chancellor of the jury. Lennox put forward his demand for a postponement, which was refused, Bothwell urging that the Privy Council had fixed an early date in accordance with Lennox's own request. No witnesses were produced by the prosecution, and Bothwell was acquitted. He then challenged to single combat any one who might accuse him, and the challenge was not accepted. In the Parliament which met on the 16th, various confirmations of grants were made—the Castle of Dunbar to Bothwell, the Earldom of Angus to Bothwell's nephew, and various lands to Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington. No Parliament had assembled since Mary's marriage to Darnley, and, accordingly, the restoration of Murray and Morton to their titles and estates was confirmed by statute. Although Parliament thus put its seal on Bothwell's acquittal, by securing Dunbar to him, the popular impression of his guilt was in no way lessened.]

A Bond by a Number of the Nobility to promote Bothwell's Marrying of Queen Mary.

Anderson's Collections, vol. i. pp. 107–112, from Cott. Lib. Calig., C. i. fol. 1.

We undersubscribing, understanding that although the noble and mighty Lord James, Earl Bothwell, . . . being not only bruitit [reported] and calumniated by placards, privily affixed on the public places of the Kirk of Edinburgh, and otherwise slandered by his evil willers, as art and part of the heinous murther of the King, . . . but also by special letters sent to her Highness by the Earl of Lennox, and debated [accused] of the same crime . . . he by condign inquest and assize of certain noblemen his peers and other barons of good reputation is found guiltless and innocent of the odious crime objected to him . . . and we considering the anciency and nobleness of his house, the honourable and good service of his predecessors, and specially himself to our Sovereign, and for the defence of this her Highness' Realm against the enemies thereof, and the amity and friendship which so long has preserved betwix his House and every one of us . . . Therefore obliges us, and every one of us, upon our Faith and Honours, and Truth in our bodies, as we are noblemen, and will answer to God, that in case hereafter any manner of person or persons . . . shall happen to insist farther to the slander and calumniation of the said Earl of Bothwell, as participant, act or part, of the said heinous murther, . . . we . . . shall take . . . plain and upright part with him, to the

defence and maintenance of his quarrel. . . . Moreover, weighing and considering the time present, and how our Sovereign the Queen's Majesty is now destitute of a husband, in the which solitary state the Commonwealth of this Realm may not permit her Highness to continue and endure; . . . and, therefore, in case the former affectionate and hearty service of the said Earl . . . may move her Majesty so far to humble herself, as preferring one of her native born subjects unto all foreign princes, to take to Husband the said Earl, we, and every one of us undersubscribing, upon our Honours and Fidelity, obliges us, and promises, not only to further, advance, and set forward the marriage to be solemnised and completed betwix her Highness and the said noble Lord . . . but in case any would presume directly or indirectly, openly, or under whatsoever colour or pretence, to hinder, hold back, or disturb the said marriage, we shall in that behalf, esteem, hold and repute the hinderers, adversaries or disturbers thereof as our common enemies and evil willers. . . . In witness of the which we have subscriyved these presents, as follows, at Edinburgh, the 19 Day of April, the year of God, 1567 years.

The names of such of the nobility as subscribed the bond, so far as John Read [a dependent of Murray] might remember, of whom I had this copy, being in his own hand, being commonly termed in Scotland, Ainslie's Supper.

The Earls—Murray, Huntly, Cassilis, Morton, Sutherland, Rothes, Glencairn, Caithness.

Lords—Boyd, Seton, Sinclair, Semple, Oliphant, Ogilvie, Rosse-Hacat, Carlisle, Herries, Hume, and Innermeith.

[This note is appended to Cecil's copy of the bond. It should be noted that Murray was not in Scotland at the time, and that his name does not appear in a copy of the bond in the Scots College at Paris, for which we have the authority of Sir James Balfour.]

1567.—May. Mary on her Capture. Instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane for the French Court.

Keith's History, vol. ii. p. 592.

In our returning he awaited us by the way, accompanied with a great force, and led us with all diligence to Dunbar. . . . And when he saw us like to reject all his suit and offers, in the end he showed us how far he was proceeded with our whole nobility and principals of our estates, and what they had promised him under their handwrites. . . . In the end, when we saw no esperance to be rid of him, never man in Scotland once making an attempt to procure our deliverance, . . . so ceased he never till by persuasions and importune suit, accompanied not the less with force, he has finally driven us to end the work begun at such time and in such form as he thought might best serve his turn, wherein we cannot dissemble that he has used us otherwise than we would have wished, or yet have deserved at his hand.

Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland.

And upon the twenty-fourth day of April, which was Saint Mark's even, our sovereign lady being

riding from Stirling, whereto she passed a little of before to visit her son, as said is, to Edinburgh, James, Earl of Bothwell, accompanied with seven or eight hundred men and friends, whom he caused believe that he would ride upon the thieves of Liddesdale, met our sovereign lady betwix Kirkliston and Edinburgh, at a place called the Bridges, accompanied with a few number, and there took her person to the castle of Dunbar.

Guzman de Silva to the King, from London,
May 3, 1567. *Spanish State Papers.*

On arriving six miles from Edinburgh, Bothwell met her with four hundred horsemen. As they arrived near the Queen with their swords drawn they showed an intention of taking her with them, whereupon some of those who were with her were about to defend her, but the Queen stopped them, saying she was ready to go with the Earl of Bothwell wherever he wished rather than bloodshed and death should result. She was taken to Dunbar, where she arrived at midnight, and still remains. Some say she will marry him, and they are so informed direct by some of the highest men in the country who follow Bothwell. They are convinced of this, both because of the favour the Queen has shown him, and because he has the national forces in his hands. Although the Queen sent secretly to the governor of the town of Dunbar to sally out with his troops and release her, it is believed that the whole thing has been arranged, so that if anything comes of the marriage, the Queen may make out that she was forced into it.

The Bothwell Marriage.

Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland.

Upon the third day of May 1567, the sentence of divorce was pronounced by the comissaries of Edinburgh, decerning and ordaining . . . Jean Gordon [Countess of Bothwell] to be free to marry when she pleased, and the said Earl Bothwell to be an adulterer. This divorcement was made to the effect that the said Earl should marry the Queen's Majesty.

Ibid.

Upon the twelfth day thairof [of May], betwix seven and eight hours at even, James, Earl Bothwell, was made Duke of Orkney and Zetland, with great magnificence, . . . and there were few or none of the nobility thereat.

Ibid.

Upon the fifteenth day of May 1567, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scots, was married on James, Duke of Orkney, Earl Bothwell, . . . in the palace of Holyrood-house, within the old chapel, by Adam, Bishop of Orkney, not with the mass but with preaching, at ten hours afore noon. There were not many of the nobility of this realm thereat, except the Earl Crawford, the Earl Huntly, the Earl Sutherland, my Lords Arbroath, Oliphant, Fleming, Livingston, Glamis, and Boyd, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunblane, the Bishop of Ross, Orkney, with certain other small gentlemen, who waited upon the said Duke of Orkney. At this

marriage there was neither pleasure nor pastime used, as use was wont to be used when princes were married.

1567.—May. Mary's Demeanour.

Du Croc to Catherine de Medici. Von Raumer's Elizabeth and Mary, p. 99.

It [the Bothwell marriage] is too unhappy, and begins already to be repented of. On Thursday the Queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, "If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful; because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death." Yesterday, when they were both in a room, with the Earl d'Aumale, she called aloud for a knife to kill herself; the persons in the ante-chamber heard it. I believe that if God does not support her, she will fall entirely into despair.

Sir William Drury to Cecil, from Berwick, May 25. *Foreign Calendar.*

The Queen uses often with the Duke [Bothwell] to ride abroad, and they now make outward show of great content, but the company at Court increases not of one nobleman more than were at the marriage.

Ibid., May 27.

The Duke openly uses great reverence to the Queen, ordinarily bareheaded, which she seems she would have otherwise, and will sometimes take his cap and put it on.

1567.—June 15. Carberry Hill.

Melville's Memoirs, p. 181.

All Scotland cried out upon the foul murther of the King. . . . Whereupon the lords that had the enterprise in their heads were hasted forward to take arms. . . . The Earl of Bothwell again, having the Queen in his company, convened a greater number out of the Merse and Lothians, and out of all parts where he had means of friendship, at over her Majesty's proclamation, which was not well obeyed for the time; and so many as came had no hearts to fight in that quarrel. Yet the Earl Bothwell marched forward out of Dunbar [which was threatened by the lords], taking the Queen with him, towards Edinburgh. The lords again, with their companies, passed out of Edinburgh upon foot, with a great energy and fierceness to fight; both the armies not far from Carberry. The Earl Bothwell's men camped upon the hill head, in a strength very advantageous; the lords camped at the foot of the hill.

Albeit her Majesty was there, I cannot name it to be her army, for many of them that were with her had opinion that she had intelligence with the lords; chiefly such as understood of the Earl Bothwell's mishandling of her, and many indignities that he had both said and done unto her, since their marriage was made. He was so beastly and suspicious, that he suffered her not to pass over a day in patience, not making her cause to shed abundance of salt tears. So part of his own company detested

him; other part believed that her Majesty would fain have been quit of him, but thought shame to be the doer thereof directly herself.

In the meantime the laird of Grange rode about the brae. . . . When the Queen understood that the laird of Grange was chief of that company of horsemen, she sent the laird of Ormiston to desire him to come and speak with her under surety, which he did, after he had sent and obtained leave of the lords. As he was speaking with her Majesty, the Earl Bothwell had appointed a soldier to shoot him, until the Queen gave a cry, and said that he should not do her that shame, who had promised that he should come and return safely. For he was declaring unto the Queen how that all they would honour and serve her so that she would abandon the Earl Bothwell, who was the murderer of her own husband. . . .

The Earl Bothwell hearkened, and heard part of this language, and offered the singular combat to any man that would maintain that he had done it. The laird of Grange promised to send him an answer shortly thereanent. . . . He offered himself first. . . . The Earl Bothwell answered that he was neither lord nor earl, but a baron, and so could not be his peer. The like answer he made to Tullibardine. Then my Lord Lindsay offered to fight him, which he could not plainly refuse, but his heart cooled aye the longer the more. Then the Queen sent again for the laird of Grange, and said to him, that if the lords would do as he had spoken to her, she should put away the Earl Bothwell and come unto them. Whereupon he asked at them, if he might promise it

to her Majesty in their name; which they willed him to do. . . . Her Majesty was that night conveyed to Edinburgh, and lodged in the middle of the town, in the provost's lodging. As she came through the town, the common people cried out against her Majesty at the windows and stairs, which it was a pity to hear. Her Majesty again cried out, to all gentlemen and others that passed up and down the causeway, declaring how that she was their native princess, and doubted not but all honest subjects would respect her as they ought to do, and not suffer her to be mishandled. Others again showed their malice, in setting up a banner or ensign, whereupon the King was painted lying dead under a tree, and the young prince sitting upon his knees, praying, "Judge, and revenge my cause, O Lord!"*

That same night it was alleged that her Majesty wrote a letter unto the Earl Bothwell. . . . Upon the which letter the lords took occasion to send her to Lochleven to be kept, against promise as she alleged.

1567.—July 12. Lochleven Castle.

Guzman de Silva to the King. Spanish State Papers.

[Mary was a prisoner in Lochleven from 17th June 1567 to 2nd May 1568. The chief events of her captivity were her compulsory abdication on 24th July, the coronation of her infant son on the 29th of the same month, and the proclamation of the Earl of Murray as Regent on August 22nd. Her escape was preceded by at least one unsuccessful attempt. Murray visited Mary in Lochleven, and was by her asked to undertake the

* Ps. xliii. 1.

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not been moved by zeal to punish the King's murder, as they had been enemies rather than friends of his; nor in consequence of the marriage, as they had been all in favour of it, and had signed their names to that effect without exception, either lay or clerical, apart from the Earl of Murray, but their sole object had been a religious one, as they thought the Queen, being a Catholic, might settle religion in a way not to their liking.

Queen Elizabeth to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, in Scotland, July 27, 1567. *Keith's History*, p. 702.

You shall plainly declare unto them [the lords], that if they shall determine anything to the deprivation of the Queen their sovereign lady of her royal estate, we are well assured of our own determination, and we have some just and probable cause to think the like of other Princes of Christendom, that we will make ourselves a plain party against them, for example to all posterity.

[This intervention by Elizabeth on Mary's behalf was the result of reports which reached London that Mary's life was in danger. Her death was demanded by certain of the Protestant clergy, and the more ardent of their following.]

Guzman de Silva to the King, from London, August 2. *Spanish State Papers.*

The Earl of Murray went to Scotland on the last day of July. . . . I visited him. . . . He repeated how displeased he was at the action of the lords in taking the Queen. . . . I said that her confessor had told me that as regarded the King's murder she had

no knowledge whatever of it, and had been greatly grieved thereat. . . . He opened out somewhat, saying that my good will towards him prompted him to tell me something that he had not even told this Queen [Elizabeth], although she had given him many remote hints upon the subject. This was that he considered it very difficult to arrange matters, as it was certain that the Queen had been cognisant of the murder of her husband, and he, Murray, was greatly grieved thereat. This had been proved beyond doubt by a letter which the Queen had written to Bothwell, containing three sheets of paper, written with her own hand, and signed by her, in which she says in substance that he is not to delay putting into execution that which he had arranged, because her husband used such fair words to deceive her and bring her round that she might be moved by them if the other thing were not done quickly. She said that she herself would go and fetch him, and would stop at a house on the road, where she would try to give him a draught, but if this could not be done, she would put him in the house where the explosion was arranged for the night upon which one of her servants was to be married. He, Bothwell, was to try to get rid of his wife either by putting her away or by poisoning her, since he knew that she, the Queen, had risked all for him, her honour, her kingdom, her wealth, and her God, contenting herself with his person alone. Besides this she had done an extraordinary and unexampled thing on the night of the murder in giving her husband a ring, petting and fondling

him after plotting his murder, and this had been the worst thing in connection with it. Murray said he had heard about the letter from a man who had read it, and the rest was notorious. . . . He says he will do his best for her. I am more inclined to believe that he will do it for himself if he finds a chance, as he is a Scotchman, and a heretic. . . .

The Escape from Lochleven.

Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Signory, from Paris, May 26, 1568. *Venetian Calendar.*

Guard was continually kept at the castle day and night, except during supper, at which time the gate was locked with a key, every one going to supper, and the key was always placed on the table where the Governor took his meals, and before him. The Governor is the uterine brother of the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, the Queen's illegitimate brother, and her mortal enemy. The Queen, having attempted to descend from a window unsuccessfully, contrived that a page of the Governor's, whom she had persuaded to this effect, when carrying a dish, in the evening of the second of May, to the table of his master with a napkin before him, should place the napkin on the key, and in removing the napkin take up the key with it and carry it away unperceived by any one. Having done so, the page then went directly to the Queen and told her all was ready; and she, having in the meanwhile been attired by the elder of the two maids who waited upon her, took with her by the hand the younger maid, a girl

ten years old, and with the page went quietly to the door, and he having opened it, the Queen went out with him and the younger girl and locked the gate outside with the same key, without which it could not be opened from within. They then got into a little boat which was kept for the service of the castle, and displaying a white veil of the Queen's with a red tassel, she made the concerted signal to those who awaited her that she was approaching. . . . The horsemen . . . came immediately to the lake and received the Queen with infinite joy, and having placed her on horseback, with the page and the girl, they conveyed her to the sea coast, at a distance of five miles from thence, because to proceed by land to the place which had been designated appeared manifestly too dangerous. All having embarked, the Queen was conducted to Niddry, a place belonging to Lord Seton, and from thence to Hamilton, a castle of the Duke of Châtelherault, where his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with other principal personages of those parts, acknowledged her as Queen. . . .

All Scotland is in motion, some declaring for the Queen, and some against her and for the Earl of Murray. . . . With regard to her flight, it is judged here, by those who know the site, and how strictly she was guarded, that her escape was most miraculous, most especially having been contrived by two lads under ten years of age, who could not be presupposed to have the requisite judgment and secrecy.

To the greater satisfaction with the result may be added that the inmates of Lochleven Castle perceived the flight; but being shut up within it, and thus made prisoners, they had to take patience, and to witness the Queen's escape, while they remained at the windows of the castle.

But now, if the current report be true, the Queen of Scotland, following the course of her fickle fortune, gives news of her troops having been routed near Glasgow, all her chief adherents being killed or made prisoners.

Ibid. June 6.

The news of the defeat of the troops of the Queen of Scotland was true. She had assembled about eight thousand men, who had flocked to her from divers parts, and for greater security she wished to shut herself up in Dumbarton, which is a very strong castle, but she could not get there without crossing the Clyde, over which there is but one bridge near Glasgow, and that was already occupied by the enemy. It was therefore determined to cross the river where it flows into the sea, a number of boats being sent to the spot for that purpose. The Regent, aware of this, went in pursuit with four thousand men; whereupon the Queen appointed as her Lieutenant-General the Earl of Argyle, who had just joined her, and who is her brother-in-law through his wife, Queen Mary's natural sister, and he with six thousand men gave Murray battle.

The contest lasted for three-quarters of an hour, when the Queen's troops were worsted, but only one hundred and fifty of her followers were killed,

for the Regent exerted himself extremely to prevent his troops shedding blood. The prisoners exceeded three hundred, including many noblemen, amongst whom, moreover, is that Lord Seton who was the chief instrument and leader in effecting the Queen's escape. Finding herself defeated, the Queen set out for England, accompanied by a son of the Duke of Châtelherault, by Lord Fleming, by the Earl of Maxwell, and some twenty-five other attendants, and she travelled a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles without any rest. She stopped at a place called Workington, which is four miles within the English border. She did not discover herself, but was recognised by a Scotsman, who informed the warden of the castle, and the latter went immediately to receive her, with great marks of respect, and posted guards on all sides to prevent pursuit by the enemy.

SECTION VI

THE CONFERENCES AT YORK AND WESTMINSTER

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The Conference at York.

[On Mary's arrival in England, Queen Elizabeth declined to meet her, till she should be cleared from the suspicion of complicity in the Darnley murder. Mary promptly accused

Maitland and Morton of a share in the crime, and accepted Elizabeth's proposal to have the case tried at a Conference at York. The Queen of England appointed as Commissioners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. The Scottish Queen was represented by Lords Boyd, Herries, and Livingstone, the Abbot of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir James Cockburn of Skirving, and John Lesley, the Bishop of Ross. The Earl of Murray, the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney (Adam Bothwell), the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Lord Lindsay appeared in the name of the young James VI., along with Maitland of Lethington, George Buchanan, James Macgill, and Henry Balnaves, as assistants.

Many points of procedure and various formal questions occupied much of the time of the Conferences. The extracts which follow have been chosen out of regard to their bearing on the problem of Mary's guilt or innocence, and especial care has been taken to include references to the Casket Letters. The letters themselves, and the depositions which were produced before the Commissioners, will be found, by themselves, after the account of the Conferences.

The Conference met at York on October 8, and as Mary was, formally, the plaintiff, her complaint against the Lords was first received. Thereafter, Murray's reply and a rejoinder from Mary's representatives were put on record. This was all the formal business essential for our purpose. But, on October 11th, Elizabeth's Commissioners received a private visit from Maitland, Buchanan, Macgill, and Balnaves, who put before them, secretly, certain documents to prove Mary's guilt. It will be seen from the letter of the Commissioners to Elizabeth, and the quotations from the "abstract of matters . . . chosen by the Scots," that these documents consisted of:—

1. A bond signed by the Lords, agreeing to Bothwell's marriage with the Queen.
2. The Queen's warrant for the signature of the above-mentioned bond.
3. Two contracts of marriage. (See pp. 219–221.)

4. Two letters arranging for the seizure of the Queen by Bothwell (*i.e.* two of Letters, vi., vii., and viii., see pp. 206–212).
5. A letter arranging a duel between Darnley and the Lord Robert.
6. The two Glasgow Letters (i. and ii., see pp. 166–194).
7. The Love Sonnets (pp. 213–219).
8. The Letter in which the Jason and Medea comparison occurs. (Letter iv., see pp. 198–203.)

This list should be compared with the recital of the productions at Westminster (pp. 143 *et seq.*). Maitland informed Queen Mary of this secret visit, and she complained to Queen Elizabeth, who summoned all the Commissioners to London, on the ground of greater convenience.]

Letter of the Earl of Murray, with information for the Queen of England, June 22, 1568. *Goodall*, vol. ii. p. 75, *from the Paper Office.*

It may be that such letters as we have of the Queen, our Sovereign Lord's mother, that sufficiently, in our opinion, prove her consenting to the murther of the King her lawful husband, shall be called in doubt . . . therefore, since our servant, Mr. John Wood, has the copies of the same letters translated in our language, we would earnestly desire that the said copies may be considered by the judges that shall have the examination and commission of the matter, that they may resolve us thus far, in case the principal agree with the copy, that then we prove the case indeed; for when we have manifested and shown all, and yet shall have no assurances that what we send shall satisfy for probation, for what purpose shall we either accuse or seek to prove,

when we are not assured what to prove, or when we have proved, what shall succeed?

1568.—September 9. Mary's Instructions to her Commissioners.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 337, *from Queen Mary's Register* in Cotton Library.

In case they allege they have any writings of mine, which may infer presumption against me in that case, ye shall desire the principals to be produced, and that I myself may have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto. For ye shall affirm, in my name, I never wrote anything concerning that matter to any creature; and if any writings be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves, only to my dishonour and slander. And there are divers in Scotland, both men and women, that can counterfeit my handwriting, and write the like manner of writing which I use, as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves. And I doubt not, if I had remained in my own realm, but I should have gotten knowledge of the inventors and writers of such writings ere now, to the declaration of my innocency, and confusion of their falsity.

October 8. Complaint of the Queen of Scots against the Earl of Murray.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 128, from Cott. Lib. Calig., C. i. 197.

That James, Earl of Morton, John, Earl of Mar, Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, the Lords Howe,

Lindsay, Ruthven, Sempill, Cathcart, Ochiltree, with others their assisters, assembled in arms a great part of the Queen's grace's subjects, declared by their proclamations it was for her Grace's relief, beset the road in her passage betwixt her Grace's castles of Dunbar and Edinburgh, there took her most noble person, committed her in ward in her own place of Lochleven, . . . passed to the castle of Stirling, and made there fashion of crowning of her son the Prince. . . .

James, Earl of Murray, took upon him the name of the Regent, . . . intromitted with the whole strengths, munitions, jewels, and patrimony of the crown, as well property as casualty. . . .

October 10. The Answer of the Earl of Murray.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 144, from Cott. Lib. Calig., C. i. 202.

It is notorious to all men, how umquhile [the late] King Henry, father to our sovereign Lord, was horribly murdered in his bed. James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, being well known to be the chief author thereof, entered into so great credit and authority with the Queen, then our sovereign, that, within three months after the murder of her husband, the said Earl . . . accomplished a pretended marriage betwix him and the Queen, which strange and hasty proceeding of that godless and ambitious man, . . . with the ignominy spoken among all nations of that murther, as though all the nobility had been alike culpable thereof, so moved the hearts of a good

number of them, that they thought nothing more godly . . . than by punishing of the said Earl, chief author of the murther, to relieve others causelessly calumniated thereof, to put the Queen to freedom, forth of the bondage of that tyrant. . . . [From the Queen, after Carberry Hill], no other answer could be obtained, but vigorous menacing, on the one part, avowing to be revenged on all them that had shown themselves in that cause, and on the other part, offering to leave and give over the realm and all, so she might be suffered to possess the murtherer of her husband, which her inflexible mind, and extremity of necessity compelled them to sequestrate her person for a season. . . . During the which time, she finding herself by long, irksome, and tedious travail, taken by her in the government of the realm and lieges thereof . . . vexed and wearied . . . and for other considerations moving her at the time, therefore demitted and renounced the office of government of the realm and lieges thereof . . . and constituted me, the said Earl of Murray, I being then absent furth of the realm, and without my knowledge, Regent to his Grace, the realm, and lieges. . . .

1568.—October 16. Queen Mary's Commissioners' Rejoinder to Murray's Reply.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 162, *from Queen Mary's Register* in Cott. Lib. Titus, C. 12.

If he [Bothwell] was the principal author of the murder, the same was never known nor manifested to her Highness, but the contrary did well appear

to her Grace, by reason the said Earl of Bothwell being suspected, indited, and orderly summoned by the laws of that realm, was acquitted by an assize of his Peers, and the same ratified and confirmed by authority of Parliament, by the greatest part of the nobility . . . who also consented and solicited our said Sovereign to accomplish the said marriage with him as the man most fit in all the realm of Scotland . . . and they nor none of them . . . came to her Highness . . . to find fault with the said Earl concerning the murder foresaid, or yet in any ways seemed to grudge or disallow the said marriage. . . . And at the presenting of the said writings of demission of her crown to her Majesty by the Lord Lindsay, he menaced her Grace, that if she would not subscribe, he had command to put her presently in the Tower, and would do the same, and counselled her to fulfil their desire or worse would shortly follow; which her Highness subscribed with many tears, never looking what was contained in the writings, declaring plainly thereafter, if ever her Grace came to liberty, she would never abide thereat, because it was against her Majesty's will. . . . If her Grace had willingly demitted the same, as her Highness did not, her Highness could not have nominated the said Earl of Murray Regent, for there were others to have been preferred to him.

1568.—October 11. Letter to Queen Elizabeth from her Commissioners at York.

[This letter is printed in the Appendix to vol. ii. of Hosack's "Mary Queen of Scots, and her Accusers," from Cott. MS. Cal. C. i. fol. 198. The words or letters within brackets, [ ], have been

burnt, the margin being singed. "The words printed in italics," says Mr. Hosack, "are very carefully erased with the pen, and, in some instances, are disguised with head and tail loops, to prevent their being read, the alterations being written between the lines." Without the alterations, the letter is printed in Goodall, vol. ii. p. 139, and elsewhere.]

And so they [Moray and his colleagues] sent unto us the Lord of Lethington, James Macgill, Mr. George Buchanan, and one other being a Lord of the Session, which in private and secret conference with us, not as Commissioners, as they protested, but for our better instruction, afte[r] declaration of such circumstances as led and induced them to vehement presumptio[n] to judge her guilty of the said murder, shewed unto us a copy of a bond bear[ing] date the 19th of April 1567, to the which the most part of the Lords and coun[cil] of Scotland have put to their hands; and, as they say, more for fear, than any liking they had of the same. Which bond contained two special points, the one [a] declaration of Bothwell's purgation of the murder of the Lord Darnley . . . and the othe[r] a general consent to his marriage with the Queen. . . . And yet, in proof that they did it not willingly, they procured a warrant, which was now shewed unto us, bearing date the 19th [of] April, signed with the Queen's hand, whereby she gave them licence to agree to the same. . . . There was also a contract shewed unto us, signed with the Queen's hand, and also with Bothwell's, bearing date the fifth of April. . . . There was also a contract shewed unto us, of the Queen's own hand, of the marriage to be had between her

and Bothwell, bearing no date, which had not *verba de præsenti*, as the other had, bearing date the 5th of April. It appeared also unto us by two letters of her own hand, that it was by her own practice and consent that Bothwell should take her and carry her to Dunbar. . . . After the device of the murder was determined, as it seemed by the sequel, they inferred upon a letter of her own hand, that there was another mean of a more cleanly conveyance devised to kill the King; for there was a quarrel made betwixt him and the Lord Robert of Holyrood-house, by carrying of false tales betwixt them, the Queen being the instrument, as they said, to bring it to pass. . . . Afterwards they shewed unto us one horrible and long letter of her own hand, as they say, containing foul matter, and abominable to be either thought of, or to be written by a Prince, with divers fond ballads, and other writings before specified, were closed in a little coffer of silver and gilt heretofore given by her to Bothwell. . . . And these men here do constantly affirm the said letters and other writings, which they produce of her own hand, to be of her own hand in deed; and do offer to swear and take their oath thereupon, *as in deed* the matter contained in them being such as could hardly be invented or devised by any other than by herself; for that the discourse of some things which were unknown to any other, than to herself, and Bothwell, *doth the rather persuade us to believe that they be in deed of her own handwriting*. And as it is hard to counterfeit so many, *and so long letters*, so the matter of them, and the manner how these men came by them, is such, as it

seemeth that God (in whose sight murder and bloodshed of the innocent is abominable) would not permit the same to be hid or concealed. In a paper here inclosed we have noted to your Majesty the chief and special points of the said letters, written (as they say) with her own hand, to the intent it may please your Majesty to consider of them, and so to judge whether the same be sufficient to convince her of the detestable crime of the murder of her husband; which in our opinions and consciences, if the said letters be written with her own hand, *as we believe they be,* { is very hard to be avoided. / *is plain and manifest.* . . .

T. NORFOLK.
T. SUSSEX.
R. SADLER.

Abstract of Matters showed to the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners by the Scots, sent the 11th of October.

Goodall, pp. 148–153.

. . . She wrote to Bothwell, that according to her commission, she would bring the man with her; praying him to work wisely, or else the whole burden would lie on her shoulders; and specially to make good watch, that the bird escaped not out of the cage. [Letter iv., see pp. 198–203.]

Notes drawn forth of the Queen's Letters sent to the Earl Bothwell.

. . . *Item.* . . . We are coupled with twa fals racis; the devill syndere us, and God mot knit us

togidder for ever for the maist faithful cupple that ever he unitit. This is my faith, I will die in it.

. . . *Item*. . . . Wareit [cursed] mocht this pokishe man be, that causes me haif sa meikill pane, for without hym I wald haif ane far mair plesant subject to discourse upoun. He is not oer meikle spilt, bot he has gottin verray mekill; he has almaist slane me with his braith; it is war nor your unclis, and zeit [yet] I cum na neirar bot sat in ane cheir at the bedfute, and he beand [being] at the uther end thairof.

. . . *Item*. . . . Send me advertisement quhat I sall do, and quhatsumever sall cum thairof I sall obey you; advys to with yourself. Yf ye can fynd out any mair secreit inventioun be medecein, and the baith in Craigmillar.

. . . *Item*. . . . "For certaintie he suspectis that thing ye know, and of his lyif: bot as to the last, how sone I speak twa or thrie guid wordis unto hym, he rejois and is out of doubt."

. . . *Item*. . . . Sie not his quhas fenzeit tearis suld not be sa mekill praysit, nor estemyt, as the trew and faythfull travaillis quhilk I sustene to merit hir place, for obteyning of quhilk, againis my naturall. I betray thame that may impesche me. God forgive me, and God gif you, my onlie luif, the hope and prosperitie that your humble and faythfull luif desyris unto yow, quha hoipis schortlie to be ane uther thing unto yow. [Letter, ii. pp. 168–194.]

. . . *Item*. . . . As to me, howbeit I heir no farther newes from yow. According to my commission, I bring the man with me to Craigmillar upon

Munday, quhair he will be all Wednisday. [Letter i., pp. 166–168.]

. . . *Item*. . . . In ane uther lettre, "I pray you, according to your promeis, to discharge your hart to me, utherwayis I will think that my malheure, and the guid composing of thame, that hes not the third part of the faythfull and willing obedience unto yow that I beyre, has wyne, againis my will, that advantage over me quhilk the secund luif of Jason wan; not that I wolde compair yow to ane soe unhappie as he was, nor yit myself to ane soe unpetifull a woman as she. . . . [Letter iv., p. 198.]

The Conference at Westminster.

[At the beginning of the Westminster Conference, Mary found herself "ever straiter and straiter kept from liberty," and demanded to be allowed to appear in person. Her request and Elizabeth's reply will be found on pp. 145, 148. On the 26th November, Murray made his "eik" or additional charge. For the relevant portions of this document, and of the reply of Mary's Commissioners, see pp. 146–7. On December 6th, Mary's representatives protested that they would withdraw from the Conference if their mistress's demand were not granted. Cecil declined, on a formal point, to receive the protest. On the 6th, 7th, and 8th, Murray produced his proofs. On the 9th, the protest was accepted, and Mary's Commissioners withdrew. After their retirement further evidence was received. It may be of use to enumerate the documents produced at Westminster:—

The Book of Articles.

Acts of Parliament ratifying the proceedings of the insurgent Lords.

Two contracts of marriage, and record of Bothwell's trial and divorce.

Five of the six letters produced at York, three additional letters, and the sonnets (pp. 162–219).

Recognition of the Regent's Government by Huntly, Argyll, and Herries (pp. 154–5).
Depositions and confessions of Hay, Hepburn, Powrie, Dalgleish, Nelson, and Crawford.
Murray's "Journal or Diary of Events."

The Book of Articles is a document of considerable length. It is a summary of the charges against the Queen of Scots, but contains no important charge which is not to be found elsewhere. The reader is already in possession of its essential allegations. It formed the material for Buchanan's "Detectio," with which it is, at times, almost identical. It is printed, from the Hopetoun MS., in Hosack's "Mary," I. App. B. For the depositions of Nelson and Crawford, see pp. 207–213. The depositions of Hay, Hepburn, Powrie, and Dalgleish do not directly accuse the Queen of the murder, beyond stating that the powder was placed in her room, and they have therefore been omitted. The question of the position of the powder is discussed in Hosack, vol. i. pp. 247–8, and the reader is referred to the authorities there quoted, and to Mr. Hay Fleming's "Mary Queen of Scots," pp. 435–6 (*cf.* also pp. 219–220). The confession of Hepburn (English edition of Buchanan's "Detection") contains the following sentence:—"He said, let no man do evil for counsel of great men . . . for surely I thought that night that the deed was done, that although knowledge should be gotten, no man durst have said it was evil done, seeing the handwriting and acknowledging the Queen's mind thereto." No question was put to Dalgleish regarding the casket found in his possession.

A quotation from Murray's "Diary," so far as it bears on the murder, will be found on pp. 231–233.]

The Earl of Sussex to Sir William Cecil, October 22, 1568.
Lodge: Illustrations of British History.

This matter must at length take end, either by finding the Scotch Queen guilty of the crimes that

are objected against her, or by some manner of composition with a show of saving her honour. The first, I think, will hardly be attempted, for two causes, the one, for that if her adverse party accuse her of the murder by producing of her letters, she will deny them, and accuse the most of them of manifest consent to the murder, hardly to be denied; so as, upon the trial on both sides, her proofs will judicially fall best out, as it is thought. The other, for that their young King is of tender and weak years and state of body; and if God should call him, and their Queen were judicially defaced . . . Hamilton, upon his death, should succeed; which Murray's faction utterly detest.

1568.—November 22. Mary to her Commissioners.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 185, *from Queen Mary's Register*, Cott. Lib., Titius C. 12.

Ye shall afore our sister, her nobility, and the whole ambassadors of strange countries, desire, in our name, that we may be licensed to come in proper person afore them all, to answer to that which may or can be proposed and alleged against us by the calumnies of our rebels, since they have free access to accuse us. . . . And now the said Earl of Murray being permitted to come into her presence, which if the like be not granted us, as is reasonable, and yet our sister will condemn us in our absence, not having place to answer for ourselves, as justice requires; in consideration of the premisses ye shall break off your conference, and proceed no further therein, but take your leave and come away.

1568.—November 26. Murray's "Eik" or Additional Charge.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 206, from Cott. Lib. Calig., C. i. 230.

Whereas in our former answer, upon good respects mentioned in our protestation, we kept back the chiefest causes and grounds, whereupon our actions and whole proceedings were founded, wherewithal seeing our adversaries will not content themselves; but by their obstinate and earnest pressing we are compelled, for justifying of our cause, to manifest the naked truth. It is certain, and we boldly and constantly affirm, that as James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder, perpetrated in the person of umquhile King Henry of good memory, father to our sovereign Lord, and the Queen's lawful husband, so was she of the foreknowledge, counsel, device, persuader and commander of the said murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and stopping of the inquisition and punishment due for the same, according to the laws of the realm, and, consequently, by marriage with the said James, sometime Earl Bothwell, delated and universally esteemed chief author of the above-named murder. Where through they began to use and exercise an uncouth and cruel tyranny in the whole state of the commonwealth, and with the first (as well appeared by their proceedings) intended to cause the innocent Prince, now our Sovereign Lord, shortly

follow his father, and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant. In which respect the estates of the realm of Scotland finding her unworthy to reign, decreed her demission of the Crown, with the coronation of our sovereign Lord, and establishing of the regiment of that realm, in the person of me, the Earl of Murray. . . .

JAMES, REGENT.
PATRICK, L. LINDSAY.
MORTON.
AD. ORKAD.
DUNFERMLINE.

1568.—December 1. The Answer of Queen Mary's Commissioners to the "Eik."

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 213, *from Queen Mary's Register.*

My Lords,—We are heartily sorry to hear that our countrymen should intend to colour their most unjust, ingrate, and shameful doings. . . . Her Highness made the greatest of them of mean men, if they had used their own calling, Earls and Lords, and now, without any evil deserving on her Grace's part to any of them in deed or word, to be thuswise recompensed with calumnious and false invented bruits [rumours], slandered in so great a matter, to her reproach, whereof they themselves, that now pretend herewith to excuse their own treasons, were the first inventors, writers with their own hands of that devilish band, the conspiracy of the slaughter of that innocent young gentleman, Henry Stewart, late spouse till our sovereign, and presented to their wicked

confederate, James, Earl Bothwell, as was made manifest before ten thousand people at the execution of certain the principal offenders at Edinburgh. . . .

The Queen's Highness, our and their native sovereign, . . . gave them in her youth . . . the twa part (two-thirds) of the patrimony pertaining to the Crown of Scotland, and seeing that her successors, Kings of that realm, might not maintain their estate upon the third part . . . for their evil deservings and most proud contemption . . . caused her use the privilege of the laws always granted to the Kings of that realm before, and make revocation before her full age of xxv. years, . . . so that it was not the punishment of that slaughter that moved them to this proud rebellion, but the usurping of their Sovereign's supreme authority, and to possess themselves with her great riches. . . .

. . . Our desire is most earnestly that it should be the Queen's Majesty's pleasure that our Sovereign may be admitted to come into the presence of the Queen's Highness of this realm, her whole nobility, and also in presence of the ambassadors of foreign countries, for more true declaration of her innocency.

1568.—December 4. Elizabeth's Answer.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 222, *from Queen Mary's Register.*

I think it very reasonable that she should be heard in her own cause, being so weighty; but to determine whom before, when and what, any time before I understand how they will verify their allegation, I not as yet resolved.

1568.—Dec. 4. Proceedings of the Privy Council.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 223, *from the Journal of the Privy Council of England.*

Die Sabbati, 4 Decembris 1568, Hora prima post meridiem.

Present.

THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY.

The Lord Keeper [Sir Nicholas Bacon].	Earl Leicester.
Duke of Norfolk.	Lord Admiral [Lord Clinton].
Marquis [of Northampton].	Lord Chamberlain [Lord Howard of Effingham].
Lord Steward [Pembroke].	Sir William Cecil.
Earl Essex.	Sir Ralph Sadler.
Earl Bedford.	Sir Walt. Mildmay.

The said Bishop [of Ross] and his colleagues, before they came to the Court, sent a message to the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil, requiring to speak with them two apart. . . . And thereupon the said Commissioners came into the Earl of Leicester's chamber, where the said Bishop in the name of the rest said . . . That although the Earl of Murray and his complices had delivered in writing a grievous accusation against the Queen, their Sovereign, and that they were prohibited to make any further answer to any such matter, but only to desire the Queen of Scots might come in person to the presence of the Queen's Majesty to make any further answer to any such matter; yet they having considered with themselves their mistress's intention to have been always from the beginning, that these causes should be

ended by the Queen's Majesty by some such good appointment betwix her and her subjects, as might be for her Grace's honour and the common weal of the country, with surety also to the Earl of Murray, and his party . . . thought good to declare thus much to the said Earl and Sir William Cecil. . . .

After the said Bishop had reiterated the said motion, as above is mentioned, the Queen's Majesty said: " . . . Trusting and wishing that the Queen, her sister, should be found innocent, . . . she thought it better for her sister's honour and declaration to the world of her innocency, to have the Earl of Murray and his complices charged and reproved for this their so audacious defaming of the Queen, their sovereign, and to receive that which was due for their punishment, than to have it ended by appointment, except it might be thought that they should be able to show some apparent just causes of such an attempt, whereof her Majesty would be sorry to hear. And as for the Queen of Scots coming in person to her Majesty to make answer hereunto, the same being of no small moment to her honour, but rather likely to touch her in reputation, in that it might be thought the accusation so probable, as it not to be improved [disproved] by any other, but that she should be forced to come herself, being a Queen, in person to answer for herself, her Majesty said she would not have the Queen's honour and estate in that matter endangered without this their accusation might first appear to have more likelihood of just cause than she did find therein. . . .

Hereunto the Queen of Scots' Commissioners said

that this last motion for an appointment came not from the Queen since the accusation given in by the Earl of Murray, and so also the Queen's Majesty assented thereto, but of their own consideration."

1568.—Dec. 6. Proofs produced at Westminster.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 231, *from the Journal of the Commissioners.*

. . . They [Murray and others] would show unto her Majesty's Commissioners a collection made in writing of the presumptions and circumstances, by the which it should evidently appear that as the Earl Bothwell was the chief murtherer of the King, so was the Queen a deviser and maintainer thereof; the which writing followeth thus. Articles containing certain conjectures, &c. [the Book of Articles. See *supra*, p. 144].

After the reading hereof they also said that according to the truth contained in the same, the three estates of Parliament, called by the King, now present, their whole actions and proceedings from the murther of the late King were ratified and approved to be lawful. . . .

Hosack I., App. C., from State Papers (Mary, Queen of Scots), 1568, vol. ii. p. 61, December 7, 1568.

. . . The Queen's Majesty's Commissioners having heard the foresaid Book of Articles read unto them . . . entered into a new hearing of the Book of Articles, whereof having heard three of the chapters or heads, the Earl of Murray and his colleagues, according to the appointment, came to the said

Commissioners and said: 'They trusted that, after the reading of the Book of Articles, and specially upon the sight of the Act of Parliament, wherein the whole cause wherewith their adversaries did charge them, were found, declared, and concluded to be lawful; their Lordships would be satisfied to think them clear and void of such crime as her Majesty did charge them withal. . . . They required to know whether their Lordships were not now satisfied with such things as they had seen, and if they were not, and that it would please them to show if in any part of these Articles exhibited they conceived any doubt, or would have any other proof, which they trusted, needed not. . . . [The Commissioners declined to give any opinion on this point.]

And so they produced a small gilded coffer of not fully one foot long, being garnished in many places with the Roman letter F set under a Royal Crown, wherein were certain letters and writings, and as they said and affirmed to have been written with the Queen of Scots' own hand, to the Earl Bothwell, which coffer, as they said, being left in the Castle of Edinburgh by the said Earl Bothwell before his flying away, was sent for by one George Dalgleish, his servant, who was taken by the Earl of Morton, who also thereto sitting presently as one of the Commissioners avowed upon his oath the same to be true, and the writings to be the very same without any manner of change, and before they would exhibit the sight of these letters they exhibited [the two marriage contracts]. . . . After this the said Earl and his colleagues offered to show certain proofs, not

only of the Queen's hate towards the King, her husband, but also of unordinate love towards Bothwell, for which purpose they produced a letter written in French and in Roman hand, which they averred to be a letter of the said Queen's own hand to Bothwell when she was at Glasgow with her husband, at the time she went to bring him to Edinburgh, the tenour of which letter hereafter followeth: Il semble que avecques ure absence, &c. [Letter i. p. 166.]

After this they produced for the same purpose one other long letter written also with the like hand, and in French, . . . the tenour of all which letter followeth hereafter: Estant party du lieu, &c. [Letter ii. p. 168.]

Cooldl, vol. ii. p. 235, *from the Journal of the Commissioners*, December 8.

They produced seven several writings written in French in the like Roman hand, as others her letters which were shewed yesternight and avowed by them to be written by the said Queen, which seven writings, being copied, were read in French, and a due collation made thereof as near as could be by reading and inspection, and made to accord with the originals, which the said Earl of Murray required to be redelivered, and did thereupon deliver the copies being collationed, the tenour of all which seven writings hereafter follow in order, the first being in manner of a sonnet,

"O Dieux, ayez de moy," &c.

[This is the first line of the first of the collection of sonnets, which will be found on pp. 213–219. The other six "writings" are Letters iii.–viii., on pp. 195–212.]

After this they did produce and show three several writings in English, subscribed and signed by Sir John Bellenden, Knight, Justice-Clerk in Scotland, whereof the first contained two several examinations, the first of John Hay, the younger of Talla, the 13th of September, anno 1567, the second of John Hepburn, called John of Bolton, being examined upon the murder of the King, the 8th of December 1567. The third writing containeth the examination of one George Dalgleish, the 26th of June in the same year, 1567. All which writings . . . were delivered to the said Commissioners, the true tenour whereof hereafter followeth, *Apud Edinburgh*, 13 die mensis Septembris.

After this they produced and showed forth in writing, subscribed likewise by the said Justice-Clerk, a copy of the process, verdict, and judgment against the foresaid John Hepburn, John Hay, William Powrie, and George Dalgleish, as culpable of the murder of the said King, which being read, was also delivered, and the tenours thereof hereafter followeth, *Curia justiciariae S. D. N. regis*, &c. After this they produced and shewed forth a writing in a long paper, being, as they said, the judgment and condemnation by Parliament of the Earl Bothwell, James Ormiston, Robert Ormiston, Patrick Wilson, and Paris, a Frenchman, Sym, Armstrong, and William Murray, as guilty sundry ways of treason for the murder of the King. The tenour whereof thus followeth: *In the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 20th day of December.*

After this they produced and showed a writing signed by Mr. James Macgill, Clerk of the register,

containing a request, by way of protestation, by the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, and the Lord Herries, by the which they require to have no fault imputed unto them for not doing their duty since the 10th of June 1567, until the 29th of December then following, for the which, by order of Parliament, they were acquitted. . . .

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 239, from *Journal of the Commissioners*, Cott. Lib. Calig, c. i. p. 252, Dec. 9, 1568.

The Queen's Majesty's Commissioners being occupied in perusing and reading certain letters and sonnets written in French, being duly translated into English, and other writings also exhibited yesterday to them by the Earl of Murray and his colleagues. . . . After this the Earl of Murray and his colleagues came . . . and first the Earl Morton said, that where heretofore he had declared by speech, the manner how he came to the little gilt coffer with the letters, sonnets, and contracts of marriage therein found, and heretofore exhibited: he had caused the same to be put in writing, which also he produced subscribed with his hand, and desired to have it read: which being done, he avowed upon his honour, and the oath which he already took, the same to be true, the tenor whereof followeth, *The true declaration and report*, &c. (see p. 221).

After this the Earl of Murray required that one Thomas Nelson, late servitor to the King that was murdered . . . might be heard upon his oath to report his knowledge therein, who, being produced, did present a writing in form of answer of himself to

an examination, which being read unto him, he did by a corporal oath affirm the same to be true . . . (see p. 225) . . .

The like request was made that one Thomas Crawford, a gentleman of the Earl of Lennox, might be also heard upon his oath, who was, as they said, the same party of whom mention is made in a long letter written in French, and exhibited the 7th of this month. . . . Whereupon the said Thomas Crawford . . . did present a writing, which he said he caused to be made according to the truth of his knowledge, which being read he affirmed upon his corporal oath there taken to be true, the tenour whereof hereafter followeth. The words betwixt the Queen, &c. . . . The said Crawford said . . . that he . . . was secretly informed by the King of all things which had passed betwixt the said Queen and the King, to the intent he should report the same to the Earl of Lennox his master . . . and that he did, immediately at the same time, write the same word by word as near as he possibly could carry the same away . . . (see p. 226).

Journal of the Privy Council of Hampton Court, December 14, 1568. *Goodall*, ii. 254.

There were produced sundry letters written in French, supposed to be written by the Queen of Scots' own hand, were then also presently produced and perused; and being read were duly conferred and compared, for the manner of writing and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters long since heretofore written, and sent by the Queen of Scots to the Queen's

Majesty. [The attestation of Morton and the depositions were then read.] . . . And forasmuch as the night approached, it was thought good to defer the further declaration of the rest until the next day following.

Ibid., December 15.

[The Book of Articles, depositions, and contracts were produced, along with Acts of the Scottish Parliament.]

And it is to be noted, that, at the time of the producing, shewing, and reading of all these foresaid writings, there was no special choice nor regard had to the order of the producing thereof, but the whole writings lying all together upon the Council table, the same were one after another showed rather by hap, as the same did lie upon the table, than with any choice made, as by the natures thereof, if time had so served, might have been.

1568.—December 19. Queen Mary's own Answer to the "Eik."

Mary to her Commissioners. *Goodall*, vol. ii. p. 288, from Cott. Lib. Calig., b. ix. p. 287.

We have received the eik given in by the Earl of Murray and his complices. And where they have said thereintill, or at any time, that we knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, or commended the murther of our husband, they have falsely, traitorously, and meschantlie lied; imputing unto us the crime whereof they themselves are authors, inventors, doers, and

some of them proper executors. And where they allege we stopped inquisition, and due punishment to be made on the said murther; and siclike [similarly] of the sequel of the marriage with the Earl Bothwell; it is sufficiently answered in the reply given in at York to their two points. . . . And where they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our son, alleging we intended to have caused him follow his father hastilly: Howbeit the natural love the mother bears to her only bairn is sufficient to confound them, and misteris [requires] no other answer. Yet, considering their proceedings by-past, who did wrong him in our womb, intending to have slain him and us both, there is none of good judgment but they may easily perceive their hypocrisy, how they would fortify themselves in our son's name, till their tyranny were better established.

And to the effect our good sister may understand we are not willing to let their false invented allegations pass over with silence, adhering to your former protestations, ye shall desire the inspection and doubles of all that they have produced against us; and that we may see the alleged principal [original] writings, if they have any, produced; and with God's grace we shall make our answer thereto, that our innocence shall be known to our good sister, and to all other Princes; and similarly shall charge them as authors, inventors, and doers of the said crime they would impute to us, and prove the same sufficiently, so that we may have our good sister's presence, as our adversaries have had, and reasonable space and time to get such verification as appertains thereto. And

protest that we may add thereto as time place and need shall require.

[In accordance with these instructions, Mary's Commissioners made the request before Elizabeth and her Council on 25th December, and received the following reply:—]

Which desire her Majesty thought very reasonable, and declared her to be very glad that her good sister would make answer in that manner for defence of her honour. And to the effect her Majesty might be the better advised upon their desires, and give answer thereto, desired an extract of the said writing to be given to her Highness. (Goodall, p. 282, from "Queen Mary's Register," as before.)

1569.—January 7. Proceedings at Hampton Court.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 297, *from Queen Mary's Register.*

The which day the said Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and Abbot of Kilwinning, passed to the presence of the Queen's Majesty of England, her Highness's council being also present, and declared, that they had presently received writings from the Queen's Majesty of Scotland, their sovereign, by the which they were of new commanded to signify unto her Majesty, that she would answer to the calumnious accusation of her subjects, and also would accuse them as principal authors, inventors, and executors of that deid for the which she was falsely accused by them, conform to the writings presented of before in her name, and therefore desired the writings produced by her inobedient subjects, or, at

the least, the copies thereof, to be delivered unto thame, that their mistress might fully answer thereto as was desired.

And the Queen's Majesty of England took to be advised therewith, and promised to give answer within two or three days.

1569.—January 10. At Hampton Court.

Ibid. (p. 305).

The which day the said Earl of Murray, and his complices, came before the Queen's Majesty of England, where Sir William Cecil, secretary, at the Queen's Majesty's command, and her Highness's council, gave them such answer in effect as follows:—

Whereas the Earl of Murray, and his adherents, come into this realm, at the desire of the Queen's Majesty of England, to answer to such things as the Queen their sovereign objected against them, and their allegiances; for so much as there has been nothing deduced against them, as yet, that may impair their honour or allegiances; and, on the other part, there had been nothing sufficiently produced nor shown by them against the Queen, their sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen, her good sister, for anything yet seen; and there being alleged by the Earl of Murray the unquiet state and disorder of the realm of Scotland, now in his absence, her Majesty thinketh meet not to restrain any farther the said Earl and his adherents' liberty; but suffer him and them, at their pleasure to depart,

relinquishing them in the same estate in the which they were of before their coming within this realm, till she hear farther of their Queen of Scotland's answer, to such things as have been alleged against her.

[Next day, Mary's Commissioners protested and again demanded "copies of the pretended writings given in." On the 13th they repeated their demand, and received a promise "that she [Elizabeth] will not refuse unto the Queen, her good sister, to give the doubles of all that was produced." (Goodall.) The copies not being forthcoming, Mary applied to the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénélon, for help. Elizabeth promised that they should be produced immediately, but, when Fénélon again approached her on the subject, he was informed that Mary had, in a letter, accused the English Queen of partiality. (Fénélon, i. 133 and 162.) The matter was forgotten in the negotiations for Mary's marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, and in the conspiracy which followed.]

SECTION VII

THE DOCUMENTS

CONTENTS

1. The Contents of the Casket.
   - (*a*) The Letters.
   - (*b*) The Sonnets.
   - (*c*) The Contracts of Marriage.
2. The Deposition of Thomas Nelson.
3. The Deposition of Thomas Crawford.
4. Murray's Journal.
5. The Depositions of Paris.
6. The Confession of Ormiston.
7. The Confession of the Earl of Morton.
8. Letter from Mr. Archibald Douglas to the Queen of Scots.

THE CASKET LETTERS.*

[The following eight letters are the principal contents of the famous Silver Casket (*cf.* pp. 125 and 132–161). A long and bitter controversy has been waged in connection with the question of their authenticity. Every recorded production of them has been the subject of debate. Their discovery is related on pp. 221–224. Their production at York is described in the letter to Queen Elizabeth on pp. 138–143. It is evident that, at York, they were

* *Cf.* Introduction, pp. xxiv–xxxi.

produced in Scots, and there has been considerable controversy as to whether they were there stated to be originals or translations. At Westminster, they were shown to the Commissioners in French. Within a few years after the Westminster Conference, we lose all trace of the original documents. Translations of them into Scots, English, and Latin and French versions, which we now know (at least in the case of some of the Letters) not to have been those produced at Westminster, were published soon after the Conference closed. In 1571, Latin translations of Nos. I., II., and IV. were printed in the Latin edition of Buchanan's "Detectio," and in the same year a Scots translation was published in London, containing the sonnets in French and Scots (reprinted in Anderson's "Collections," vol. ii.). Prefixed to each of the Scots versions was the first sentence of each letter, in French (*see* pp. 194–5). In 1572 another Scots version was published at St. Andrews, and, in 1573, a French translation of the "Detectio" appeared, with the imprimatur "Edinburgh." To it, French versions of all the letters except No. III. were appended, with a version of the sonnets, varying considerably from that in the Scots "Detection." Research has revealed the existence of English translations of Nos. I. and II., and French versions of Nos. III. and V. in the Record Office; and of English translations and French versions of Nos. IV. and VI. at Hatfield. All these various versions will be found printed, in careful and scholarly fashion, in Appendix C. of Mr. T. F. Henderson's "Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots."

The method adopted in the present work has been to print the Scots version of all the letters, with a glossary of unusual words. It is the only complete version, and the published French and Latin letters are probably derived from it. Varia-

tions in these and in the French versions of the letters at Hatfield or the Record Office are indicated in notes appended to each letter. Care should be taken to distinguish between these Hatfield or Record Office French versions and the "Published French," *i.e.* the French of the edition of 1573. The contemporary English translations of Letters I., II., IV., and VI. are here printed in full.

References to the literature of the question will be found in an Appendix, and the subject has also been treated in the Introduction.

Of the other contents of the Casket, the Sonnets and the important clauses of the marriage contracts will be found immediately after the letters.]

The following Scots words, which appear frequently in the text of the letters, may be unknown to English readers:—

Abaschit = surprised.
Aganis = against.
Allanerly = only.
Awin = own.
Beseik = beseech.
Chereis = cherish.
Conqueis = conquest.
Cordounis = cords.
Dreddouris = fears.
Eir = ear.
Eis = ease.
Fane = anxious (wald verray fane, wished very much).
Fascherie, fascheous = trouble, troublesome.
Fenze, fenzeingly = feign, feigningly.
Fulische = foolish.
Gangand = going.
Gar = force, compel.
Gude = good.
Haillely = wholly.
Impesche = hinder, prevent.
Incontinent = immediately.
Inlack = fail.
Inragis = becomes angry.
Irkit = tired, wearied.
Irksome = troublesome, disagreeable.
Journey = day's work.

Luif, luifar = love, lover.
Mekle, meikle = much.
Playn, plenzeit = complain, complained.
Quha = who.
Quhair = where.
Quhen = when.
Quhilk = which.
Quhill = while, till.
Regiment = rule.
Schaw = show.
Schort = short.
Schuillis = schools.
Seik = sick.
Sic, siclyke, = such, similarly.
Sone = son.
Speik = speak.
Suld = should.
Travell = take pains, try.
Thristid = nudged.
Tuichit = touched.
Tyne = loose.
Unsay = contradict.
Wald = would.
Waryit = cured.
Wod = mad, angry.
Ze, zow = ye, you.
Zisternicht = yesternight.
Zit = yet.

Letter I.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. i. *et seq.*

It appeiris, that with zour absence thair is alswa joynit forzetfulnes, seand yat at zour departing ze promysit to mak me advertisement of zour newis from tyme to tyme. The waitting upon yame zisterday causit me to be almaist in sic joy as I will be at zour returning, quhilk ze have delayit langer than zour promeis was.

As to me, howbeit I have na farther newis from zow according to my commission, I bring the man with me to Craigmillar upon Monounday, quhair he will be all Wednisday; and I will gang to Edinburgh to draw blude of me, gif in the meane tyme I get na newis in ye contrary fra zow.

He is mair gay than ever ze saw him; he puttis me in remembrance of all thingis yat may mak me beleve he luifis me. Summa, ye will say yat he makis lufe to me; of ye quhilk I tak sa greit pleasure, yat I enter never where he is, bot incontinent I tak ye seiknes of my sair side, I am sa troubillit with it. Gif Paris bringis me that quhilk I send him for, I traist it sall amend me.

I pray zow, advertise me of zour newis at lenth, and quhat I sall do in cace ze be not returnit quhen I am cum thair; for in cace ze wirk not wysely, I se that the haill burding of this will fall upon my

[There are no important variations in the published Latin and French translations.]

English Version.

Preserved in the Record Office (*State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. p. 66).

It seemyth that with your absence forgetfulness is joynid consydering that at your departure you promised me to send me newes from you. Nevertheless I can learn none. And yet did I yesterday looke for that that shuld make me meryer than I shall be. I think you doo the lyke for your return, prolonging it more than you have promised.

As for me, if I hear no other matter of you, according to my commission, I bring the man Monday to Craigmillar, where he shall be upon Wednisday. And I go to Edinborough to be lett blud, if I hear no word to the contrary.

He is the meryest that ever you sawe and doth remember unto me all that he can, to make me believe that he loveth me. To conclude, you wold say that he maketh love to me, wherein I take so much pleasure, that I have never com in there, but the payne of my syde doth take me. I have it sore to-day. If Paris doth bring back unto me that for which I have sent, it suld much amend me.

I pray you, send me word from you at large, and what I shall doo if you be not returned, when I shall be there. For if you be not wyse I see assuredly all the whole burden falling upon my shoulders. Pro-

schoulderis. Provide for all thing, and discourse upon it first with zourself. I send this be Betoun, quha gais to ane day of law of the Laird of Balfouris. I will say na farther, saifing that I pray zow to send me gude newis of zour voyage. From Glasgow this Setterday in the morning.

Letter II.

Being departit from the place where I left my hart, it is esie to be judgeit quhat was my countenance, seing that[1] I was evin als mekle as ane body without ane hart; quhilk was the occasioun that quhile dennertyme I held purpois to na body: nor zit durst ony present themselves unto me, judging yat it was not gude sa to do.

Four myle or I came to the towne, ane gentilman of the Erle of Lennox came and maid his commendatiounis unto me; and excusit him that he came not to meit me, be ressoun he durst not interpryse the same, becaus of the rude wordis that I had spoken to Cuninghame; and he desyrit that he suld come to the inquisition of ye matter yat I suspectit him of. This last speiking was of his awin heid, without ony commissioun.

I answerit to him, that thair was na receipt culd serve aganis feir; and that he wald not be affrayit, in case he wer not culpabill; and that I answerit bot rudely to the doutis yat were in his letteris. Summa, I maid him hald his toung. The rest were lang to wryte. Schir James Hammiltoun met me, quha schawit, that the uther tyme quhen he hard of

vide for all and consyder well first of all. I send this present to Ledington to be delivered to you by Beton, who goeth to one day a law of Lord Balfour. I will say no more unto you, but that I pray God send me goode newes of your voyage.

From Glasco this Saturday morning.

English Translation.

(*State Papers, Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii. No. 65.)

Being gon from the place where I had left my harte, it may be easily judged what my countenance was consydering what the body without harte, whilk was cause that till dynner I had used lyttle talk, neyther wold anybody venture himself thereunto, thinking that it was not good so to do.

Four myles from thence a gentleman of the Erle of Lennox cam and made his commendations and excuses unto me, that he cam not to meet me, because he durst not enterprise so to do, considering the sharp words that I had spoken to Conyngham, and that he desired that I wold come to the inquisition of the facts which I did suspect him of. This last was of his own head, without commission, and I told him that he had no receipt against feare, and that he had no fear, if he did not feele himself faulty, and that I had also sharply answered to the doubts that he made in his letters as though there had been a meaning to pursue him. To be short, I have made him hold his peace; for the rest it were too long to tell you. Sir James Hamilton came to meet me, who told me that at another tyme he went

my cumming, he departit away, and send Howstoun, to schaw him, that he wald never have belevit that he wald persewit him, nor yit accompanyit him with the Hammiltounis. He answerit, that he was only cum bot to see me, and yat he wald nouther accompany Stewart nor Hammiltoun, bot be my commandement. He desyrit [2] that he wald cum and speik with him. He refusit it.

The Laird of Lusse, Howstoun, and Caldwellis sone, with xl hors or thair about, came and met me. The Laird of Lusse said, he was chargeit to ane day of law be the King's father, quhilk suld be this day, aganis his awin handwrit, quhilk he has; and zit notwithstanding, knawing of my cumming, it is delayit. He was inquyrit to come to him, whilk he refusit, and sweiris that he will indure nothing of him.

Never ane of that towne came to speik to me, quhilk causis me think that thay ar his; and nevertheless he speikis gude, at the leist his sone. I se na uther gentilman but thay of my company.

The King send for Joachim zisternicht, and askit at him, quhy I lodgeit not besyde him, and that he wald ryse the soner gif that wer; and quhairfoir [3] I come, gif it was for gude appointment? and gif ye wer thair in particular? and gif I had maid my estait, gif I had takin Paris [4] * and Gilbert to wryte to me? and yat I wald send Joseph away. I am abaschit [*i.e.* I wonder] quha hes schawin him sa far; zea, he spak evin of ye marriage of Bastiane.

* This berer will tell you somewhat upon this. [Marginal note in original.]

his way when he heard of my comming, and that he sent unto him Houstown, to tell him that he wold not have thought, that he wold have followed and accompany himself with the Hamiltons. He answered that he was not come but to see me; and that he would not follow Stuart nor Hamilton, but my commandment. He prayed him to go speak to him; he refuses it.

The Lord Luce, Houstoun and the sonne of Caldwell, and about xlty horse came to meet me that he was sent to one day o' law from the father, which shold be this day against the signing of his own hand, which he has, and that, knowing of my comming, he hath delayed it, and hath prayed him to go see him, which he hath refused, and give aith that he will suffer nothing at his hands. Not one of the town is come to speak with me, which makith me to think that they be his, and they so speakith well of them, at least his sonne.

The King sent for Joachim and asked him, why I did not lodge nigh to him, and that he wold ryse sooner, and why I came, whithir it wear for any good appointment, that he came, and whithir I had not taken Paris and Guilbert to write, and that I sent Joseph. I wonder who hath told him so much even of the marriage of Bastian. This bearer shall tell you more upon that.

I inqurit him of his letteris, quhairintil he plenzeit [complained] of the crueltie of sum; answerit, that he was astonischit, and that he was sa glaid to se me, that he belevit to die for glaidness. He fand greit fault that I was pensive.

I departit to supper. This beirer will tell zow of my arryving. He prayit me to returne; the quhilk I did. He declairit unto me his seiknes, and that he wald mak na testament, but only leif all thing to me; and that I was the caus of his maladie, becaus of the regrait that he had that I was sa strange unto him. And thus he said: Ze ask me quhat I mene be the crueltie contenit in my letter? It is of zow alone that will not accept my offeris and repentance. I confes that I have failit, but not into that quhilk I ever denyit, and sicklyke hes failit to [too] sindrie of your subjectis, quhilk ze have forgevin.

I am zoung.

Ye will say that ze have forgevin me oft tymes, and zit yat I returne to my faultis. May not ane man of my age, for lacke of counsell, fall twyse or thryse, or inlacke [fail] of his promeis, and at last repent himself and be chastisit be experience? Git I may obtene pardoun, I protest I sall never mak fault agane. And I crave na uther thing bot yat we may be at bed and buird togidder as husband and wyfe; and gif ze wil not consent heirunto I sall never ryse out of yis bed. I pray zow, tell me zour resolution. God knawis I am punischit for making my God of zow, and for having na uther thocht bot on zow; and gif at ony tyme I offend zow, ze ar the caus, because quhen ony offendis me, gif, for my refuge, I

I asket him of his letters, and where he did complayn of the cruelty of some of them. He said that he did dreme, and that he was so glad to see me that he thought he should dye. Indeed, that he has found fault with me.

I went my way to supp. This bearer shall tell you of my arryving. He praied me to come agayn, which I did: and he told me his grefe, and that he wold make no testament, but leave all unto me; and that I was cause of his sickness for the sorrow he had, that I was so strange unto him. "And" (said he), "you asked what I ment in my letter to speak of cruelty. It was of your cruelty who will not accept my offres and repentance I avow that I have done amisse, but not that I have also always disavoued; and so have many othir of your subjects don, and you have well pardoned them.

I am young.

You will say that you have also pardoned me in my time, and that I return to my fault. May not a man of my age for want of counsel faylle twise or thrise, and mysse of promis, and at the last repent and rebuke himself by his experience? If I may obtayn this pardon I protest I will not make fault agayn. And I ask nothing but that we may be at bed and table together as husband and wife; and if you will not I will never rise from this bed. I pray you tell me of your resolution hereof. God knoweth that I am punished to have made my God of you, and had no other mynd but of you. And when I offend you sometime, you are cause thereof: for if I thought, when anybody doth any wrong to me,

micht playne unto zow, I wald speik it unto na uther body; bot quhen I heir ony thing, not being familiar with zow, necessitie constrains me to keip it in my breist, and yat causes me to tyne [lose] my wit for verray anger.

I answerit ay unto him, bot that wald be ovir lang to wryte at lenth. I askit quhy he wald pas away in ye Inglis schip. He denyis it, and sweirs theirunto; bot he grantis that he spak with the men. Efter this I inquirit him of the inquisition of Hiegate. He denyit the same quhill I schew him the verray wordis was spoken. At quhilk tyme he said that Mynto had advertisit him, that it was said that sum of the counsell had brocht an letter to me to be subscrivit to put him in presoun, and to slay him gif he maid resistence. And he askit the same at Mynto himself, quha answerit that he belevit ye same to be trew. The morne I will speik to him upon this point. As to the rest of Willie Hiegait's, he confessit it, bot it was the morne efter my cumming or [till] he did it.

He wald verray fane that I suld ludge in his ludgeing. I refusit it, and said to him that he behovit to be purgeit, and that culd not be done heir. He said to me, I heir say ze have brocht ane lyter [litter, couch] with zow; bot I had rather have passit [travelled] with zow. I trow he belevit that I wald have sent him away presoner. I answerit that I wald tak him with me to Craigmillar, quhais the mediciner that I micht help him, and not be far from my sone. He answerit that he was reddy when I pleisit sa I wald assure him of his requeist.

that I might for my resource make my moan thereof unto you, I wold open it to no other, but when I heare anything being not familiar with you, I must keep it in my mynd, and that troublith my wit for anger.

I did still answer him but that I shall be too long. In the end I asked him whether he would go in the English shipp. He doth disavow it, and swearith so, and confessith to have spoken to the men. Afterwards I asked him of the inquisition of Hiegate. He denyed it till I told him the very words, that it was said, that som of the counsyle had brought me a letter to signe to putt him in prison, and to kill him if he did resist, and that he asked this of Minto himself, who said unto him that he thought it was true. I will talk with him to-morrow upon that poynte. The rest as Wille Hiegate hath confessed; but it was the next day that he came hither.

In the end he desyred much that I shuld lodge in his lodging. I have refused it. I have told him that he must be pourged, and that could not be don heere. He said unto me, "I have heard say that you have brought the lytter, but I wold rather have gon with yourself." I told him that so I wold myself bring him to Craigmillar, that the phisicians and I also might cure him without being farr from my sonn. He said that he was ready when I wold, so as I would assure him of his request.

He desyris na body to se him. He is angrie quhen I speik of Walcar, and sayis, that he sall pluk the eiris out of his heid, and that he leis [lies]. For I inquyrit him upon that, and yat he was angrie with sum of the Lordis, and wald threittin thame. He denyis that, and sayis he luifis [loves] thame all, and prayis me to give traist to nathing aganis him. As to me he wald rather give his lyfe or he did ony displesure to me.

And efter yis he schew me of sa mony lytil flattereis, sa cauldly and sa wysely, that ze will abasche [marvel] thairat. I had almaist forzet that he said he could not dout of me in yis purpois of Hiegait's; for he wald never belief yat I, quha was his proper flesche, wald do him ony evill; alsweill it was schawin that I refusit to subscrive the same. But as to ony utheris that wald persew him, at least he wald sell his lyfe deir eneuch; but he suspectit na body, nor yit wald not, but wald lufe all yat I lufit.

He wald not let me depart from him, bot desyrit yat I suld walk [watch] with him. I make it seme that I believe that all is trew, and takis heid thairto, and excusit my self for this nicht that I culd not walk. He sayis, that he sleipis not weil. Ze saw him never better, nor speik mair humbler. And gif I had not ane prufe of his hart of waxe, and yat myne were not of ane dyamont quhairintill na schot can mak brek, bot that quhilk cummis furth your hand, I wald have almaist had pietie of him. But feir not, the place[5] sall hald unto the deith. Remember, in recompense thairof, that ze suffer not zouris to be

He hath no desyre to be seen and waxeth angry when I speake to him of Wallcar, and saith that he will pluck his ears from his head, and that he lieth; for I asked him before of that, and what cause he had to complayn of some of the lords and to threaten them. He deneyth it, and saith that he had allready prayed them to think no such matter of him. As for myself he wold rather lose his lyfe than doo me the least displeasure; and then used so many kinds of flatteries so coldly and wysely as you wold marvayle at. I had forgotten that he sayde that he could not mistrust me for Hiegate's word, for he could not believe, that his own flesh (which was myself) wold doo him any hurte; and indeed it was sayd that I refused to have him let bludd. But for the others he wold at least sell his lyfe deare ynoughe; but that he did suspect nobody nor wolde, but love all that I did love.

He wold not lett me go, but wold have me to watche with him. I made as though I thought all to be true, and that I wold think upon it, and have excused myself from sytting up with him this nyght, for he saith that he sleepith not. You have never heard him speake better nor more humbly; and if I had not proof of his hart to be as waxe, and that myne were not as a dyamant, no stroke but comming from your hand wold make me but to have pitee of him. But fear not for the place shall continue till death. Remember also, in recompense thereof,

wyn [won] be that fals race[6] that will travell na les with zow for the same.

I beleve thay have bene at schuillis togidder. He has ever the teir in his eye; he salutis every body, zea unto the leist, and makis pieteous caressing unto thame to mak thame have pietie on him. This day his father bled at the mouth and nose; ges quhat presage that is. I have not zit sene him, he keipis his chamber. The King desyris that I suld give him meit with my awin handis; but gif [give] na mair traist quhair ze ar than I sall do heir.

This is my first journay [day's work.] I sall end ye same ye morne. I wryte all thingis, howbeit thay be of lytill wecht, to the end that ze may tak the best of all to judge upon. I am in doing of ane work heir that I hait greitly.[8] Have ye not desyre to lauch to see me lie sa weill, at ye leist to dissembill sa weill, and to tell him treuth betwix handis [*i.e.* occasionally.] He schawit me almaist all yat is in the name of the Bischop and Sudderland, and zit I have never twichit ane word of that ze schawit me; but allanerly [only] be force, flattering, and to pray him to assure himself of me. And be pleinzing on the Bischop I have drawin it all out of him. Ze have hard the rest.

We are couplit[7] with twa fals races; the devil sinder us and God knit us togidder for ever, for the maist faithfull coupill that ever He unitit. This is my faith; I will die in it.

Excuse I wryte evill, ze may ges ye half of it; bot I cannot mend it, becaus I am not weil at eis; and zit verray glaid to wryte unto zow quhen the rest are

not to suffer yours to be won by that false race that wold do no less to yourself.

I think they have bene at school togither. He has allwais the tears in his eye. He saluteth every man, even to the meanest, and maketh much of them, that they may take pitie of him. His father has bled this day at the nose and at the mouth—gess what token that is. I have not seen him; he is in his chamber. The king is so desyrous that I shuld give him meat with my own hans, but trust you no more there where you are than I doo here.

This is my first journay; I will end to-morrow. I write all, how little consequence soever it be, to the end that you may take of the whole that shall be best for you to judge. I do here a work that I hate much, but I had begun it this morning; had you not lyst to laugh, to see me so trymly make a lie, at the least dissemble, and to mingle truth therewith. He hath almost told me all on the bishop's behalf and of Sunderland, him of that which you had told me; but only by much flattering him and praying him, and by my complayning of the bishop, I have taken the worms out of his nose. You have heard the rest.

We are tyed to by two false races. The good yere sunder us and God knytt us togither for ever for the most faythfull couple that ever he did knitt togither. This is my faith; I will dye in it.

Excuse it if I write ill; you must gesse the one-half, I cannot doo with all, for I am yll at ease, and glad to write unto you when other folke be asleep,

sleipand, sen [sin] I cannot sleip as they do and as I wald desyre, that is, in your armes, my deir lufe, quhome I pray God to preserve from all evill, and send yow repois; I am gang and to seik myne till ye morne, quhen I sall end my Bybill; bot I am faschit [troubled] that it stoppis me to wryte newis of myself unto zow, becaus it is sa lang. Advertise me quhat ye have deliberat to do in the mater ze know upon this point to ye end, that we may understand utheris [each other] weill, that nathing may thairthrow be spilt.

I am irkit [weary][8] and ganging to sleip, and zit I ceis not to scrible all this paper in sa mekle as restis thairof. Waryit mot this pockische man be that causes me haif sa mekle pane, for without him I suld have an far plesander subject to discourse upon. He is not over mekle deformit,[9] zit he hes ressavit verray mekle. He hes almaist slane me with his braith; it is worse than your uncle's;[10] and zit I cum na neirer unto him, bot in ane chyre[11] at the bed feit, and he being at the uther end thairof.

The message of the father in the gait [way].

The purpois [talk] of Schir James Hamiltoun.

Of that the Laird of Lusse[12] schawit me of the delay.

Of the demandis that he askit at Joachim.

Of my estait.

Of my company.

Of the occasioun of my cumming;

And of Joseph.

Item. The purpois that he and I had togidder.

Of the desyre that he has to pleis me, and of his repentance.

Of the interpretatioun of his letter.

seeing that I cannot doo as they doo, according to my desyre, that is between your arms, my dear lyfe, whom I beseech God to preserve from all yll, and send you good rest as I go to seek myne, till to-morrow in the morning that will end my bible. But it greevith me that it shuld lett me from wryting unto you of newes of myself, so much I have to write.

Send me word what you have determined here upon, that we may know the one the other's mind for marring of any thing.

I am weary and am asleepe, and yet I cannot forbear scribbling so long as there is any paper. Cursed be this pocky fellow that troublith me thus much, for I had a pleasanter matter to discourse unto you but for him. He is not much the worse, but he is yll arrayd. I thought I should have been kylled with his breth, for it is worse than your uncle's breth; and yet I was sett no nearer to him than in a chayr by his bolster, and he lyeth at the further syde of the bed.

The message of the Father by the way.

The talk of Sir James of the ambassador.

That the Lard of Luss hath told me of the delay.

The questions that he asked of Jochim.

Of my state.

Of my company.

And of the cause of my comming.

And of Joseph.

The talk that he and I had, and of his desyre to please me, of his repentance, and of the interpretation of his letter.

Of Willie Hiegaite's mater [business], of his departing.

Of Monsiure de Levingstoun.

I had almaist forzet, that Monsiure de Levingstoun said in the Lady Reres eir at supper, that he wald drink to ye folk yat I wist of, gif I wald pledge thame. And efter supper he said to me, quhen I was lenand upon him warming me at the fyre. Ze have { fair / sair } going to se seik folk,[13] zit ze cannot be sa welcum to thame as ze left sum body this day in regrait, that will never be blyth quhill he se zow agane. I askit at him quha that was. With that he thristit my body, and said, that sum [14] of his folkis had sene zow in fascherie; ze may ges at the rest.

I wrocht this day quhill [till] it was twa houris upon this bracelet, for to put the key of it within the lock thairof, quhilk is couplit underneth with twa cordounis. I have had sa lytill tyme that it is evill maid, bot I sall mak ane fairer; in the meane tyme tak heid that nane that is heir se it, for all the warld will knaw it, becaus for haist it was made in yair presence.

I am now passand to my fascheous [hateful] purpois.[15] Ze gar (force) me dissemble sa far that I haif horring thairat; and ye caus me do almaist the office of a traitores. Remember how gif [if] it wer not to obey zow, I had rather be deid or I did it; my hart bleidis at it. Summa, he will not cum with me, except upon conditioun that I will promeis to him, that I sall be at bed and buird with him as of befoir, and that I will leif him na ofter: [16] And doing

Of Will Hiegate's doing, and of his departure, and of the L. of Livinston.

I had forgotten of the L. of Livinston, that he at supper sayd softly to the Lady Reres, that he drank to the persons I knew of, if I would pledge them. And after supper he sayd softly to me, when I was leaning upon him, and warming myself, "You may well go and see sick folk, yet can you not be so welcome unto them as you have this day left somebody in payne." I asked him who it was; he took me about the body and said, "One of his folke that has left you this day." Gesse you the rest.

This day I have wrought till two of the clock upon this bracelet, to putt the key in the clifte of it, which is tyed with two laces. I have had so little tyme that it is very ill, but I will make a fayrer; and in the meane tyme take heed that none of those that be heere doo see it, for all the world wold know it, for I have made it in haste in theyr presence.

I go to my tedious talk. You make me dissemble so much that I am affrayd thereof with horrour, and you make me almost play the part of a traytor. Remember that if it were not for obeying I had rather be dead. My heart bleedth for yt. To be short, he will not com but with condition that I shall promise to be with him as heretofore at bed and bord, and that I shall forsake him no more; and

this upon my word, he will do all thingis that I pleis, and cum with me. Bot he has prayit me to remane upon him quhil uther morne[17] [till to-morrow].

He spak verray bravely[18] at ye beginning, as yis beirer will schaw zow, upon the purpois of the Inglisman, and of his departing; Bot in ye end he returnit agane to his humilitie.

He schawit, amangis uther purposis, yat he knew weill aneuch that my brother had schawin me yat thing, quhilk he had spokin in striviling, of the quhilk he denyis ye ane half, and above all, yat ever he came in his chalmer. For to mak him traist me, it behovit me to fenze [feign] in sum thingis with him; thairfor, quhen he requeistit me to promeis unto him, that quhen he was haill we suld have baith ane bed;[19] I said to him fenzeingly, and making me to beleve his promisis, that gif he changeit not purpois betwix yis and [by] that tyme, I wald be content thairwith; bot in the meane tyme I bad him tak heid that he leit na body wit thairof, becaus, to speik amangis our selvis, the Lordis culd not be offendit, nor will evill thairfor: Bot[20] thay wald feir in respect of the boisting he maid of thame, that gif ever we aggreit togidder, he suld mak thame knaw the lytill compt thay tuke of him; and that he counsallit me not to purchas sum of thame by him. Thay for this caus wald be in jelosy, gif at anis, without thair knawledge, I suld brek the play set up in contrair in thair presence.

He said, verray joyfully, And think zow thay will esteme zow the mair of that? Bot I am verray glaid that ze speik to me of the Lordis, for I beleve at this

upon my word, he will do whatever I will, and will com, but he hath prayd me to tarry till after to-morrow.

He hath spoken at the fyrst more stoutly, as this bearer shall tell you, upon the matter of the Inglishman and of his departure; but in the end he cometh to his gentleness agayn.

He hath told me, among other talk, that he knew well, that my brother hath told me at Stirling that which he had said there, whereof he denyed the half, and specially that he was in his chamber. But now to make him trust me I must fayne something unto him; and therefore when he desyred me to promise that when he shuld be well we shuld make but one bed, I told him, fayning to believe his faire promises, that if he did not change his mynd between this tyme and that, I was contented, so as he wold say nothing thereof; for (to tell it between us two) the lordis wished no yll to him, but did feare lest, consydering the threatening which he made in case we did agree together, he wold make them feel the small accompte they have made of him; and that he would persuade me to poursue some of them, and for this respecte shuld be in jealousy if at one instance, without their knowledge, I did raise the game to the contrary in their presence.

And he said unto me very pleasant and merry, "Think you that they doo the more esteem you therefore? But I am glad that you talked to me of the lords. I hope that you desyre now that we shall

tyme ze desyre that we suld leif togidder in quyetnes: For gif it wer utherwyse, greiter inconvenience micht come to us baith than we ar war of; bot now I will do quhatever ze will do, and will lufe all that ze lufe; and deşyris zow to make thame lufe in lyk maner; For, sen thay seik not my lyf, I lufe thame all equallie. Upon yis point this beirer will schaw zow mony small thingis. Becaus I have over mekle to wryte, and it is lait: I give traist untto him upon zour word. Summa, he will ga upon my word to all places.

Alace! I never dissavit [deceived] ony body: Bot I remit me altogidder to zour will. Send me advertisement quhat I sall do, and quhatsaever thing sall cum thairof, I sall obey zow. Advise to with zourself, gif ze can find out ony mair secreit inventioun by medicine; for he suld tak medicine and the bath at Cragmillar. He may not cum furth of the hous this lang tyme.

Summa, be all that I can leirne, he is in greit suspicioun, and zit notwithstanding, he gevis credit to my word; bot zit not sa far that he will schaw ony thing to me; bot nevertheles, I sall draw it out of him, gif ze will that I avow all unto him. Bot I will never rejoyce to dissaive ony body that traistis in me: Zit notwithstanding ze may command me in all thingis. Have na evill opinioun of me for that caus, be ressoun ze are the occasion of it zourself; becaus, for my awin particular revenge, I wald not do it to him.

He gevis me sum chekis[21] of yat quhilk I feir, zea, evin in the quick. He sayis this far, yat his faultis wer publeist; bot yair is that committis faultis, that

lyve a happy lyfe; for if it weare otherwise, it could not be but greater inconvenience shuld happen to us both than you think. But I will doo whatsoever you will have me doo. I will love all those that you shall love, and so you make them to love me also. For so as they seek not my lyfe, I love them all equally." Thereupon I have willed this bearer to tell you many pretty things; for I have too much to write, and it is late, and I trust him upon your word. To be short, he will go anywhere upon my word.

Alas! I never deceived anybody; but I remitt myself wholly to your will; and send me word what I shall doo, and whatsoever happen to me, I will obey you. Think also yf you will not fynd some invention more secret by phisick, for he is to take physick at Craigmillar and the bathes also, and shall not come fourth of long time.

To be short, so that I can learn he hath great suspicion, and yet, nevertheless trusteth upon my word, but not to tell me as yet anything; howbeit, if you will that I shall avow him, I will know all of him; but I shall never be willing to beguile one that puttith his trust in me. Nevertheless you may doo all, and doo not estyme me the less therefore, for you are the cause thereof. For, for my own revenge I wold not doo it.

He giveth me certain charges, and these strong, of that that I fear even to say that his faults be published, but there be that committ some secret faults

belevis they will never be spokin of; and zit thay will speik of greit and small. As towart the Lady Reres, he said, I pray God that scho may serve zow for your honour; and said, it is thocht, and he belevis it to be trew, that I have not the power of myself into myself, and that becaus of the refuse I maid of his offeris. Summa, for certanetie he suspectis of the thing ze knaw, and of his lyf. Bot as to the last, how sone that I spak twa or thre gude wordis unto him, he rejoysis, and is out of doubt.

I saw him not this evening for to end zour bracelet, to the quhilk I can get na lokkis. It is ready to thame: and zit I feir that it will bring sum malheus, and may be sene gif ze chance to be hurt. Advertise me gif ze will have it, and gif ze will have mair silver, and quhen I sall returne, and how far I mey speik. He inragis when he heiris of Lethingtoun, or of zow or of my brother. Of zour brother he speikis nathing. He speikis of the Erle of Argyle. I am in feir quhen I heir him speik; for he assuris himself yat he hes not an evill opinioun of him. He speikis nathing of thame that is out, nouther gude nor evill, bot fleis that point. His father keipis his chalmer; I have not sene him.

All the Hammiltounis ar heir, that accompanyis me verray honorabilly. All the friendis of the uther convoyis me quhen I gang to se him. He desyris

and fear now to have them spoken of lowdely, and that there is speech of great and small. And even touching the Lady Reres he said, "God grant, that she serve to your honour," and that any may not think, nor he neyther, that myne own power was not in myself, seeing I did refuse his offers. To conclude, for a surety, he mistrustith her of that that you know, and for his lyfe. But in the end, after I had spoken two or three good words to him, he was very merry and glad.

I have not seen him this night for ending your bracelet, but I can fynd no clasps for yt; it is ready thereunto, and yet I fear lest it should bring you yll hap, or that shuld be known if you were hurt. Send me word whether you will have it, and more monney, and how farr I may speak. Now so farr as I perceive *I may doo much without you;* * guesse you whithir I shall not be suspected. As for the rest, he is mad when he hears of Ledinton, and of you, and my brother. Of your brother he says nothing, but of the Earl of Arguile he doth; I am afraid of him to heare him talk, at the last he assurit himself that he hath no yll opinion of him. He speaketh nothing of these abrode, nither good nor yll, but avoidit speaking of him. His father keepith his chambre; I have not seen him.

All the Hamiltons be here who accompany me very honestly. All the friends of the others doo come allwais, when I go to visit him. He hath sent

* "The French original is added in the margin in Cecil's handwriting, 'J'ay bien la vogue avec vous.'" (Henderson, *Casket Letters*, p. 139.)

me to cum and se him ryse the morne betyme. For to mak schort, this beirer will tell zow the rest. And gif I leirne onything heir, I will make zow memoriall at evin. He will tell zow the occasioun of my remaning. Burne this letter, for it is ovir dangerous, and nathing weill said in it; for I am thinkand upon nathing bot fascherie. Gif ze be in Edinburgh at the ressait of it, send me word sone.

Be not offendit, for I gif not ovir greit credite. Now seing to obey zow, my deir lufe, I spair nouther honour, conscience, hasard, nor greitnes quhatsumevir; tak it, I pray zow, in gude part, not efter the interpretatioun of zour fals gude-brother, to quhome, I pray zow, gif na credite aganis the maist faithful luifer that ever ze had, or ever sall have.

Se not hir, quhais fenzeit teiris suld not be sa meckle praisit nor estemit, as the trew and faithful travellis quhilk I sustene for to merite his place. For obtening of the quhilk agains my natural, I betrayis thame that may impesche me. God forgive me, and God give zow, my only lufe, the hap and prosperitie quhilk zour humble and faithful lufe desyris unto zow, quha hopis to be schortly ane uther thing to zow for the reward of my irksome travellis.

It is lait; I desyre never to ceis fra wryting unto zow; zit now, after the kissing of zour handis, I will end my letter. Excuse my evill wryting, and reid it twyse over. Excuse that thing that is scriblit, for I had na paper zisterday quhen I wrait that of ye memoriall. Remember upon zour lufe, and wryte unto hir, and that verray oft. Lufe me as I sall do zow.

to me and prayeth me to see him rise to-morrow in the morning early. To be short, this bearer shall declare unto you the rest; and if I learne anything, I will make every night a memoriall thereof. He shall tell you the cause of my stay. Burn this letter, for it is too dangerous, neither is there anything well said in it, for I think upon nothing but upon grief if you be at Edinburgh.

Now if to please you, my deere lyfe, I spare neither honor, conscience, nor hazard, nor greatness, take it in good part, and not according to the interpretation of your false brother-in-law, to whom I pray you, give no credit against the most faythfull lover that ever you had or shall have.

See not also her whose fayned tears you ought not more to regard than the true travails which I endure to deserve her place, for obtayning of which, against my own nature, I doo betray those that could lett me. God forgive me, and give you, my only friend, the good luck and prosperitie that your humble and faythfull lover doth wisshe unto you, who hopith shortly to be another thing unto you, for the reward of my paynes.

I have not made one word and it is very late, although I shuld never be weary in wryting to you, yet will I end, after kissing of your hands. Excuse my evill wryting, and read it over twise. Excuse also that I scribbled, for I had yesternight no paper when I took the paper of a memorial. Pray remember your friend, and wryte unto her and often. Love me allwais as I shall love you.

[The English version is endorsed on the back, "The long lettre written from Glasgow from the Q. of Scotts to the Erle of Bothwell. It does not contain the directions for the bearer.]

Remember zow of the purpois of the Lady Reres

Of the Inglismen
Of his mother.
Of the Erle of Argyle.
Of the Erle of Bothwell.
Of the ludgeing in Edinburgh.

[The memoranda in the middle of the letter constitute the "thing that is scriblit," for which pardon is asked in the last sentence. The concluding words, from "Remember" to "Edinburgh," are instructions for the bearer.]

F. = *Published French*; *L.* = *Latin.*

[1] French as in English, Latin as in Scots.

[2] *F.* and *L.* Omit "He desired . . . refusit it."

[3] *L.* "Item cur venisrem? an reconciliationis causa? ac nominatim, an tu hic esses? An familiæ catalogum fecissem? An Paridem et Gilbertum acceptissem, qui mihi scriberent? an Josephum dimissura essem?"

F. "Item pour quoy j'estoye venue, et si c'estoit pour faire une reconciliation; si vous estiez icy; ei si j'avoye faict quelque rolle de mes domestiques; si j'avois prins Paris et Gilbert, afin qu'ils m'escrivissent; et si je ne vouloye pas licentier Joseph."

[4] Scots has a marginal note, "This berer will tell you sumwhat upon this," which appears in the English text and is omitted in the other versions.

[5] *L.* "Praesidium," *F.* "Forteresse."

[6] *L.* "A gente illa perfida, quae non minore contentione te cum de hoc ipso aget." *F.* "Par ceste nation infidele, qui avec non moindre opiniastreté debatra le mesme avec vous."

[7] *L.* "Diabolus nos sejungat, ac nos conjugat Deus in perpetuum," &c. *F.* "Le diable nous vueille separer, et que Dieu nous conjoingne à jamais," &c.

[8] *L.* "Ego nudata sum, ac dormitum eo." *F.* "Je suis toute nuë, et m'en vay coucher." [The Latin and French translation mistook "irkit" for "nakit."]

[9] *L.* "Non magnopere deformatus est, multum tamen accepit." *F.* "Il n'a pas esté beaucoup rende diforme, toutesfois il en a pris beaucoup."

[10] *L.* "Propinqui." *F.* "Parent."

[11] *L.* "Ad pedes ejus." *F.* "A ses pieds."

[12] *L.* "Lussae Comarchus." *F.* "Le prevost de Lusse."

[13] *L.* "Bella huiusmodi visitatio." *F.* "Voyla une belle visitation de telles gens." [*L.* and *F.* translators confusing *sik* (sick) and *sik* (such).]

[14] *L.* "Respondit, unus eorum qui te reliquerunt." *F.* "Respondit, c'est l'un de ceux qui vous ont laissée."

[15] *L.* "Ad institutum meum odiosum." *F.* "À ma deliberation odieuse."

[16] *L.* "Ne saepius." *Fr.* "Ne . . . si souvent."

[17] *L.* "In diem perendinum." *F.* "Encor deux jours."

[18] *L.* "Valde ferociter." *F.* "Fort asprement."

[19] *L.* "Communem fore lectum." *F.* "Ne faisions plus qu'un lict."

[20] *L.* "Sed in timore futuros quod comitatus fuisset, si aliquando inter nos concordes essemus, se daturum operam ut intelligerent quam parvi eum aestimâssent; item quod mihi consuluisset ne gratiam quorundam seorsum a se expeterem." *F.* "Ains seroient en crainte de ce qu'il m'auroit suivy. Et si nous pouvions estre d'acord ensemble, qu'il pourroit donner ordre, qu'ils entendroient combien peu ils l'avoient estimé. Item de ce qu'il m'avoit conseillé, que je ne recerchasse la bonne grace d' aucuns sans luy."

[21] *L.* "Interim me attingit in loco suspecto; idque ad vivum

hactenus proloquutus est, sua crimina esse palam ; sed sunt qui majora committant, et opinantur ea silentio tegi ; et tamen homines de magnis juxta et parvis loquuntur." *F.* "Cependant il m'a donné attainte du lieu suspect, et a jusques icy discouru bien au vif, que ces fautes sont congreuës ; mais qu'il y en a qui en commettent de plus grandes, encores qu' ils estiment qu' elles soient cachées par silence ; et toutesfois que les hommes parlent des grands aussi bien des petits."

Letter III.

My Lord, gif the displesure of zour absence, of zour forzetfulnes, ye feir of danger sa promisit be everie ane to zour sa luifit persone, may gif me consolatioun, I leif it to zow to juge, seing the unhap that my cruell lot and continuall misadventure hes hitherto promysit me, following ye misfortunes and feiris as weill of lait, as of ane lang tyme bypast, the quhilk ye do knaw. Bot for all that, I will in na wise accuse zow, nouther of zour lytill cair, and leist of all of zour promeis brokin, or of ye cauldnes of zour wryting, sen I am ellis sa far maid zouris, yat yat quhilk pleisis zow is acceptabill to me; and my thochtis ar as willingly subdewit unto zouris, that I suppois yat all that cummis of zow proceidis not be ony of the causis forsaid, bot rather for sic [such] as be just and ressonabill, and sic as I desyre myself.[1] Quhilk is the fynal order that ze promysit to tak for the suretie and honorabil service of ye only uphald of my lyfe. For quhilk alone I will preserve the same, and without the quhilk I desyre not bot suddane deith, and to testifie unto zow how lawly I submit me under zour commandementis, I have send zow, in signe of homage, be Paris, the ornament of the heid, quhilk is the chief gude of the uther memberis, inferring thairby that, be ye seising [placing] of zow in the possessioune of the spoile of that quhilk is principall, the remnant cannot be bot subject unto zow, and with consenting of the hart. In place thairof, sen I have ellis left it unto zow, I send unto zow ane sepulture of hard stane, collourit with blak sawin with

teiris and bones. The stane I compair to my hart, that as it is carvit in ane sure sepulture or harbor of zour commandementis, and above all, of zour name and memorie that ar thairin inclosit, as is my heart in this ring, never to cum furth, quhill deith grant unto yow to ane trophee of victorie of my banes, as the ring is fullit, in signe that yow haif maid ane full conqueis of me, of myne hart, and unto yat my banes be left unto yow in remembrance of your victorie and my acceptabill lufe and willing, for to be better bestowit than I merite. The ameling that is about is blak, quhilk signifyis the steidfastness of hir that sendis the same. The teiris are without number, sa ar the dreddowris to displeis yow, the teiris of your absence, the disdane that I cannot be in outward effect youris, as I am without fenzeitnes of hart and spreit, and of gude ressoun, thocht my meritis wer mekle greiter than of the maist profite that ever was, and sic as I desyre to be, and sall tak pane in conditiounis to imitate, for to be bestowit worthylie under your regiment. My only wealth ressaif thairfoir in als gude part ye same, as I have ressavit your marriage with extreme joy, the quhilk sall not part furth of my bosum, quhill yat marriage of our bodyis be maid in publict, as signe of all that I outher hope or desyris of blis in yis warld. Zit my hart feiring to displeis you as mekle in the reiding heirof, as I delite me in ye writing, I will mak end, efter that I have kissit zour handis with als greit affectioun as, I pray God (O ye only uphald of my lyfe) to gif yow lang and blissit lyfe, and to me zour gude favour, as the only gude yat I desyre, and to ye quhilk I pretend. I have

schawin unto this beirer that quhilk I have leirnit, to quhome I remit me, knawand the credite that ze gaif him, as scho dois that will be for ever unto zow humbill and obedient lauchfull wyfe, that for ever dedicates unto zow hir hart, hir body, without ony change, as unto him that I have maid possessour of my hart, of quhilk ze may hald zow assurit, yat unto ye deith sall na wayis be changeit, for evill nor gude sall never mak me go from it.

[The original French version of this letter is in the Record Office (State Papers, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 66). It is printed by Mr. Henderson, and by Hosack. No Latin or French version of it was printed in the *Detectio.*]

[1] *F.* "Mais pour tout cela Je me vous accuserai ni de peu de souvenance ni de peu de soigne et moins encore de vostre promesse violee que ce qu'il vous plaist mest agreable et sont mes penses tant volonterement, aux vostres asubjectes que je veulx presupposer que tout ce que vient de vous procede non par aucune des causes susdictes ains pour telles qui son justes et raisoinables et telles que je desie moy."

Letter IV.

I have walkit laiter thair up then I wald have done, gif it had not bene to draw sumthing out of him, quhilk this beirer will schaw zow; quhilk is the fairest commodity [*i.e.* the most suitable opportunity] that can be offerit to excuse zour affairis. I have promysit to bring him the morne. Put ordour to it, gif ze find it gude.

Now, Schir, I have brokin my promeis; becaus ze commandit me nouther to wryte nor send unto zow. Zit I have not done this to offend zow, and gif ze knew the feir yat I have presently, ze wald not have sa mony contrary suspiciounis in your thocht; quhilk notwithstanding I treit and chereis, as proceeding from the thing in the warld that I maist desyre, and seikis fastest to haif, quhilk is zour gude grace; of the quhilk my behaviour sall assure me. As to me: I sall never dispair of it, and prayis zow, according to zour promeis, to discharge zour hart unto me, Utherwayis[1] I will think that my malhure, and the gude handling of hir that has not ye third part of the faithful nor willing obedience unto zow that I beir, hes wyn, aganis my will, yat advantage over me, quhilk the second lufe of Jason wan; not that I will compair zow unto ane sa unhappy as he was, nor zit myself to ane sa unpietifull ane woman as scho. Howbeit, ze caus me to be sumthing lyk unto hir in onything that tuichis zow, or yat may preserve and keip zow unto hir, to quhome only ze appertene; gif it be sa that I may appropriate that quhilk is wyn throch faithfull, zea only, lufing of zow, as I do, and

English Translation at Hatfield.

I have watched later there above than I wold haue don, if it had not bene to draw out that that this bearer shall tell you, that I fynde the fayrest commoditie to excuse yo^{r} busynes that might be offred: I have promised him to bring him to morrowe. Yf you think it, give ordre thereunto.

Now S^{r} I have *not yet* broken my promes w^{t} you for you had commanded me to send you any thing or to write and I doo it not, for offending of you. And if you knew the feare that I am in thereof, you wold not have so many contrary suspiciōs, w^{ch} nev^{r}theless I cherishe as proceeding from the thing of this worlde that I desyre and seeke the moste, that is yo^{r} favo^{r}, *or good will*, of w^{ch} my behaviour shall assure me, And I will nev^{r} dispayre thereof as long as according to yo^{r} promes you shall discharge yo^{r} harte to me, Otherwise I wold think that my yll luck, and the fayre behavio^{r} of those that have not the thirde parte of the faythfulnes and voluntary obedience that I beare unto you, shall have wonne the advantage ov^{r} me of the second Loover of Jason. Not that I doo compare you to so wicked, or myself to so unpitifull a person, Althoughe you make me feele some greefe in a matter that toucheth you, and to preserve and keepe you to her whō alone you belong, if a body may clayme to him selfe that w^{ch} is wōn by—well, faythfully, yea entirely loving, as I doo, & will doo

sall do all the dayis of my lyfe, for pane or evill that can cum thairof. In recompense of the quhilk, and of all the evillis quhilk ze have bene caus of to me, remember zow upon the place heir besyde.

I craif with that ze keip promeis to me the morne; but that we may meit togidder, and that ye gif na faith to suspiciounis without the certanetie of thame. And I craif na uther thing at God, but that ze may knaw that thing that is in my hart quhilk is zouris; and that he may preserve zow from all evill, at the leist sa lang as I have lyfe, quhilk I repute not precious unto me, except in sa far as it and I baith ar aggreabill unto zow. I am going to bed, and will bid zow gude nicht. Advertise me tymely in the morning how ze have fairin; for I will be in pane unto I get worde. Mak gude watch,[2] gif the burd eschaip out of the caige, or without hir mate. As ye turtur I sall remane alone for to lament the absence, how schort yat sa ever it be. This letter will do with ane gude hart, that thing quhilk I cannot do myself, gif it be not that I have feir that ze ar in sleiping, I durst not wryte this befoir Joseph Bastiane, and Joachim, that did bot depart even quhen I began to wryte.

[A French version of this letter is in the possession of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield (*cf.* Calendar of Hatfield MSS., I. 376–7) and has been printed by Mr. Henderson. ("Casket Letters," pp. 159–162.) It is here given in full, and the variations in the published Latin and French versions, and in the English translation at Hatfield are indicated in the notes.

"J'ay veille plus tard la hault que je n'eusse fait si ce neust esté pour tirer ce que ce porteur vous dira que je treuve la plus belle

all my lyfe for payne or hurt what soev^{r} may happen to me thereby. In recompence whereof, and of all the evils that you bene cause of to me, Remember the place hereby. I desyre not that you keepe promes w^{t} me to morrowe, but that we may be togither, and that you give no credit to the suspicions that you shall have, w^{t}out being assured thereof. And I aske no more of God but that you might know all that I have in my harte, w^{ch} is yours, and that he preserve you frō all evill, at the leist during my lyfe, w^{ch} shall not be deere unto me, but as long as y^{t} & I shall please you. I go to bed, and give you good night. Send me word tomorrow early in the morning how you have don for I shall think long. And watche well if the byrde shall fly out of his cage or w^{t}out his make, as the turtle shall remayne alone to lament & morne for absence how short soev^{r} it be. That that I could not doo my lre shuld doo it w^{t} a good will, yf it weare not that I feare to wake you, for I durst not write before Joseph & Bastian & Joachim, who weare but new gon from I begōn.

(Endorsed "Copy, 3, ēnglish,"
Endorsed in another hand "(3)
lre concerning Holly Roode House.")

commoditee pour excuser vostre affaire que se pourroit presenter. Je luy ay promise de le luy mener demain si vous le trouves bon mettes y ordre. Or monsieur j'ay ja rompu ma promesse. Car vous ne mavyes comande de vous envoier ni escrire si ne le fais pour vous offencer et si vous scavyes la craint que j'en ay vous nauries tant des subçons contrairs que toutesfois je cheris comme procedant de la chose du mond que je desire et cherche le plus c'est votre bonne grace de laquelle mes desportemens m'asseureront et je n'en disesperay jamais tant que selon vostre promesse vous m'en dischargeres vostre cœur aultrement [1] je penserais que mon malheur et le bien composer de ceux qui n'ont le troisiesme partie de la fidelité ni voluntair obéissance que je vous porte auront gaigné sur moy l'avantage de la seconde amye de Jason. Non que je vous compare a un si malheureus ni moy a une si impitoiable. Combien que vous men fassies un peu resentir en chose qui vous touschat ou pour vous preserver et garder a celle a qui seulle vous aparteines si lon se peult approprier ce que lon acquiert par bien et loyalment voire uniquement aymer comme je fais et fairay toute ma vie pour pein ou mal que m'en puisse avenir. En recompence de quoy et des tous les maulx dont vous maves este cause, souvenes vous du lieu icy pres. Je ne demande que vous me tennes promesse de main mais que nous truvions et que nadjousties foy au subçons quaures sans nous en certifier, et je ne demande a Dieu si non que coignoissies tout ce que je ay au cœur qui est vostre et quil vous preserve de tout mal au moyns durant ma vie qui ne me sera chère qu'autant qu'elle et moy vous serons agreables. Je m'en vois coucher et vous donner le bon soir mandes moy demain comme vous seres porte a bon heur Car j'enseray en pein et faites bon guet [2] si l'oseau sortira de sa cagé ou sens son per comme la tourtre demeurera seulle a se lamenter de l'absence pour court quelle soit-ce que je ne puis faire ma lettre de bon cœur [fera] si ce nestait qui je [qy] peur que soyes endormy. Car je nay ose escrire devant Joseph et Bastienne et Joachim qui ne sont que partis quand J'ay commence."]

P. F. = Published French ; *L.* = Latin.

[1] *P. F.* "Autrement j'estimeray que cela se faict par mon malheureux destin, et par la faveur des astres envers celles, qui toutesfois n'ont une tierce partie de loyauté, et volonté que j'ay de vous obëir ; si elles, comme si j'estoye une second amye de Jason, malgré moy, occupent le premier lieu de saveur ; ce que je ne dy, pour vous a comparer a cet homme en l'infelicité qu'il avoit, ny moy avec une femme toute esloignée de misericorde, comme estoit celle-la," &c. *L.* "Alioqui suspicabor fieri malo meo fato, et siderum favore erga illas (quae nec tertiam habent partem fidelitatis, et voluntatis tibi obsequendi, quam ego habeo) ut ipsae, velut secunda Jasonis amica, me invitâ, priorem apud te locum gratiae occupaverint ; nec hoc eo dico, quo te cum homine, eâ quâ ille erat infelicitate, comparem, nec me cum muliere tam aliena a misericordia quam illa erat."

[2] *P. F.* has no sentence corresponding to "mak gude watch," and proceeds, "Comme l'oyseau eschappé de la cage, ou la tourtre qui est sans compagne, ainsi je demeureray seule, pour pleurer votre absence, quelque brieve qu'elle puisse estre." *L.* also has no expression for "mak gude watch," but reads, "Si avis evaserit e cavea autsine compare, velut turtur, ego remanebo sola ut lamenter absentiam tuam quamlibet brevem."

Letter V.

My hart, alace! must the foly of ane woman quhais unthankfulness toward me ze do sufficiently knaw, be occasioun of displesure unto zow, considering yat I culd not have remeidit thairunto without knawing it? And sen that I persavit it, I culd not tell it zow, for that[1] I knew not how to governe myself thairin: for nouther in that nor in any uther thing will I tak upon me to do ony thing without knawledge of zour will, quhilk I beseik zow let me understand; for I will follow it all my lyfe mair willingly than zow sall declair it to me; and gif ze do not send me word this nicht quhat ze will that I sall do, I will red myself of it, and hesard[2] to caus it to be interprysit and takin in hand, quhilk micht be hurtfull to that quhairunto baith we do tend. And quhen scho sall be maryit, I beseik zow give me ane, or ellis I will tak sic as sall content zow for their conditiounis; bot as for thair toungis or faithfulness towart zow I will not answer. I beseik zow yat ane opinioun of uther persoun be not hurtfull in zour mynde to my constancie, Mistrust me; bot quhen I will put zow out of dout and cleir myselfe, refuse it not, my deir lufe, and suffer me to make zow some prufe be my obedince, my faithfulness, constancie, and voluntarie subjectioun, quhilk I tak for the pleasandest gude that I micht ressaif, gif ze will accept it; and mak na ceremonie at it, for ze culd do me na greiter outrage nor give mair mortall grief.

[There is a French version of this letter in the Record Office (*State Papers*, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 63). It has been

printed by Malcolm Laing (vol. iv. p. 202), Hosack (vol. i. p. 230), and Mr. Henderson (p. 165). The following variations are taken from the Record Office version. The other published French version follows the Scots, also does the Latin.]

[1] *F.* "Je ne vous lay peu dire pour scavoir comment je me gouvernerois." (I could not tell you, in order to know how to govern myself.)

[2] *F.* "Et si vous ne me mondes ce soir ce que volles que jeu faisse je m'en deferay au hazard de la fayre entreprandre ce qui pourroit nuire a ce a quoy nous tandons tous deux [and if you do not send me word this night what you will that I shall do, I will rid myself of it at the hazard of making her undertake that which might be hurtful to that whereunto we both do tend (Laing)] et quant ella sera mariee je vous suplie donnes qune opinion sur aultrui ne nuise en votre endroit a ma constance."

Letter VI.

Alace! my Lord, quhy is zour traist put in ane persoun sa unworthie, to mistraist that quhilk is haillely zouris? I am wot [wild]. Ze have promysit me that ze wald send me word every day quhat I suld do. Ye haif done nathing yairof. I advertisit yow weill to tak heid of zour fals brother-in-law [Huntly]. He come to me, and without schawing me ony thing from zow, tald me that ze had willit him to wryte to zow that that I suld say, and quhair and quhen ze suld cum to me, and that that ze suld do tuiching him; and thairupon hes preichit[1] unto me yat it was ane fulische interpryse, and that with myne honour I culd never marry zow, seing that being maryit ze did cary me away, and yat his foikis wad not suffer it, and that the Lordis wald unsay yame-selvis, and wald deny that they had said. To be schort, he is all contrarie. I tald him that seeing I was cum sa far, gif ze did not withdraw zour self of zour self, that na perswasioun, nor deith itself suld mak me fail of my promeis. As tuiching the place ze are too negligent, pardoun me, to remit zour self thairof unto me. Cheis it zour self, and send me word of it. And in the meane tyme I am seik; I will differ [defer] as tuiching the mater it is to lait. It was not lang of me yat ze have not thocht thairupon in time. And gif ze had not mair changeit zour mynd sen myne absence, then I have; ye suld not be now to ask sic resolving. Weill, thair wantis nathing of my part;

English Translation at Hatfield.

Alas my Lorde, why is yor trust putt in a pson so unworthy to mistrust that wch is wholly yours! I am wood. You had promised me that you wold resolve all, And that you wold send me worde every daye what I shuld do. You have don nothing thereof. I advertised you well to take heed of your falce brother in lawe. He cam to me, and wtout shewing me anything from you told me that you had willed him to write to you that that I shuld saye, and where and whan you should com to me, and that that you shuld doo touching him. And thereupon hath preached unto me that it was a foolish enterprise, and that wt myn honor I could nevr marry you seeing that being maryed you did carry me away. And that his folk wold not suffer yt. And that the Lords wold unsaye themselves and wold deny that they had said.[1] To be shorte he is all contrary. I told him that seeing I was com so farre, if you did not wtdrawe yorselfe of yorselfe that psuasion nor death it selfe shuld make me fayle of my promesse. As touching the place you are to negligent (pdon me) to remitt yorself thereof unto me. Choose it yorselfe and send me word of it. And in the mean tyme I am sicke. I will differ as touching the matter it is to late. It was not long of me that you have not thought thereupon in tyme. And if you had not more changed yor mynde since myne absence than I have, you shuld not be now to aske such resolving.

and seing that zour negligence dois put us baith in the danger of ane fals brother, gif it succeedet nor weill I will never ryse agane. I send this beirer unto zow, for I dar not traist zour brother with thir letteris, nor with the diligence. He sall tell zow in quhat stait I am, and judge ze quhat amendment yir new ceremonies[2] have brocht unto me. I wald I wer deid, for I se all gais ill. Ze promysit uther maner of mater of zour foirseing, bot absence hes power over zow, quha haif twa stringis to zour bow. Dispatch the answer that I faill not, and put na traist in your brother for this enterpryse, for he hes tald it, and is also all aganis it. God give zow gude nicht.

[1] *F.* in Record Office, "M'a preschè que c'estoit une folle entreprise, et qu'avecques mon honneur Je ne vous pourries Jamaiis espouser, veu qu'estant marié vous m'amenies et que ses gens ne l'endureroient pas et que les seigneurs se dediroient." *P. F.* "Il me remonstra, que c'estoit une folle entreprise, et que pour mon honneur, Je ne vous pourvoye prendre à mary, puis que vous estiez marié, ny aller avec nous, et que ses gens mesmes ne le souffriroient pas voire que les Seigneurs contrediroyent á ce que en seroit proposé."

[2] *F.* in Record Office, "Ce incertains nouvelles." *P. F.* "Ces nouvelles ceremonies."

Well ther wantith nothing of my pte. And seeing that yor negligence doth putt us both in ye danger of a false brother, if it succeede not well, I will nevr rise agayne. I send this bearer unto you for I dare not trust yor brothr wt these lres nor wt the diligence. He shall tell you in what state I am, and judge you what amendment these new ceremonies have brought unto me. I wold I weare dead. For I see all goith yll. You promised other manner of matter of your forseing but absence hath powre ovr you, who ij strings to yor bowe. Dispatche the annsweare that I fail you not. And put no trust in yor brithr for this enterprise. For he hath told yt, and is all against it God give you good night.

(Endorsed " Copie from Sterling afore the ravissmt. Prufs her mask of Ravishing".)

Letter VII.

Of the place and ye tyme,[1] I remit my self to zour brother and to zow. I will follow him, and will faill in nathing of my part. He finds mony difficulteis; I think he dois advertise zow thairof, and quhat he desyris for the handling of himself. As for the handling of myself, I hard it anis weill devysit.[2]

Methinkis that zour services, and the lang amitie, having ye gude will of ye Lordis, do weill deserve ane pardoun, gif above the dewtie of ane subject yow advance yourself, not to constrane me,[3] bot to assure yourself of sic place neir unto me, that uther admonitiounis or forane [foreign] perswasiounis may not let [hinder] me from consenting to that, that ye hope your service sall mak yow ane day to attene; and to be schort, to mak yourself sure of the Lordis and fre to mary; and that ye are constranit for your suretie, and to be abill to serve me faithfully, to use ane humbil requeist, joynit to ane importune actioun.

And to be schort, excuse yourself, and perswade thame the maist ye can, yat ye ar constranit to mak persute aganis zour enemies. Ze sall say aneuch, gif the mater or ground do lyke yow, and mony fair wordis to Lethingtoun. Gif ye lyke not the deid, send me word, and leif not the blame of all unto me.

[Of this letter there is no version in the Record Office, the only other version being the published French translation.]

[1] *F.* "Homme."

[2] "Quant à jouer le mien, je sçay comme jè m'y dois gouverner, mà souvenant de la façon que les choses ont esté delibereés."

[3] *F.* Adds "et tenir captive."

Letter VIII.

My Lord, sen my letter written, zour brother in law yat was, come to me verray sad, and hes askit me my counsel, quhat he suld do efter to morne, becaus thair be mony folkis heir, and among utheris the Erle of Sudderland, quha wald rather die, considdering the gude thay have sa laitlie ressavit of me, than suffer me to be caryit away, thay conducting me; and that he feirit thair suld sum troubil happin of it: of the uther syde, that it suld be said that he wer unthankfull to have betrayit me. I tald him, that he suld have resolvit with zow upon all that, and that he suld avoyde, gif he culd, thay that were maist mistraistit.

He has resolvit to wryte thairof to zow be my opinioun; for he has abaschit me to se him sa unresolvit at the neid. I assure myself he will play the part of an honest man. Bot I have thocht gude to advertise zow of the feir he hes yat he suld be charget and accusit of tressoun to ye end yat, without mistraisting him, ze may be the mair circumspect, and that ze may have ye mair power. For we had zisterday mair than iii. c. hors of his and of Levingstoun's. For the honour of God, be accompanyit rather with mair then les; for that is the principal of my cair.

I go to wryte my dispatche, and pray God to send us ane happy enterview schortly. I wryte in haist, to the end ye may be advysit in tyme.

[There are no important variants in the only other version of this letter—the published French translation.]

The following are the French versions of the first sentence

of each letter, printed in the Scots translation, published in London in 1572 (p. 163).

Letter I. Il semble qu' avecques vostre abscence soit joynt le oubly, *ceu qu' au partir vous me promistes de vous nouvelles. Et toutes foys je n'en puis apprendre, &c. **P. F.* "veu."

Letter II. Estant party du lieu ou je avois laissé mon cœur il se peult aysément juger quelle estoit ma contenance, veu ce qui peult un corps sans cœur, qui à esté cause que jusques à la Disnée je n'ay pas tenu grand propos, aussi personne ne s'est voulu advancer jugeant bien qu'il n'y faisoit bon, &c.

Letter III. Monsieur, si l'ennury de vostre absence, celuy de vostre oubly, la crainte du danger, tant provué * d'un chacun à vostre tant aymée personne, &c. * *Record Office F.* " promis."

Letter IV. J'ay veillé plus tard la haut que je n'eusse fait, si ce n'eust esté pour tirer ce que ce porteur vous dira, que je trouve la plus belle commodité pour excuser vostre affaire qui ce purroit presenter, &c.

Letter V. Mon cœur, helas! fault il que la follie d'une femme, dont vous cognoissez assez l'ingratitude vers moy, soit cause de vous donner desplaisir, &c.

Letter VI. Monsieur, helas! pourquoy est vostre fiance mise en personne si indigne, pour soupconner ce qui est entierement vostre. J'enrage, vous m'aviez promis, &c.

Letter VII. Du lieu et l'heure * je m'en rapporte à vostre frere et à vous. Je le suivray, et ne fauldray en rien de ma part. Il trouve beaucoup de difficultez, &c. * *P. F.* "homme."

Letter VIII. Monsieur, de puis ma lettre escrite vostre beau frere qui fust, est venu à moy fort triste, et m'a demandé mon conseil de ce qu'il feroit apres demain, &c.

The slight variations in the other French versions are noted above. There are no Record Office or Hatfield versions of I., II., VII., and VIII., and there are no "Published French" version of III.

The Love Sonnets.

Henderson's Casket Letters.

The "divers fond ballads" referred to in the letter of Elizabeth's Commissioners of October 11th, 1568, consist of the following "sonnets" in French.

The sonnets are printed from the English edition of Buchanan's *Detection* (1571). The lines in italics are translated from the Scots by Professor York Powell.

1. O Dieux ayez de moy compassion,
   Et m'enseignez quelle preuue certain[e]
   Ie puis donner qui ne luy semble vain[e]
   De mon amour & ferme affection.
   Las n'est il pas ia en possession
   Du corps, du coeur qui ne refuse paine
   Ny deshonneur, en * la vie incertaine,
   Offense de parentz, ne pire affliction? **
   Pour luy [tous mes] amis estime moins que rien,
   Et d[e mes] ennemis ie veux esperer bien.
   I'ay hazardé [pour luy] & nom & conscience:
   Ie veux pour luy au monde renoncer:
   Ie veux mourir pour le fair' † auancer.
   Que reste il plus pour prouuer ma constance?

2. Entre ses mains & en son plein pouuoir,
   Je metz mon filz, mon honneur, & ma vie,
   Mon pais, mes ‡ subjectz, mon ame assubiectie

* Ny? ** Rochelle text has "affection" wrongly.
† Buchanan, "luy" only. Rochelle text, "lui le fair."
‡ Read "Mon pis subject"?

Est tout à luy, & n'ay autre voulloir
Pour mon obiect, que sans le deceuoir
Suiure ie veux, malgré toute l'enuie
Qu'issir en peult, car ie n'ay autre envie
Que de ma foy, luy faire apperceuoir
Que pour tempeste ou bonnace qui face
Iamais ne veux changer demeure ou place.
Brief ie feray de ma foy telle preuue,
Qu'il cognoistra sans faulte * ma constance,
Non par mes pleurs ou fainte obeyssance
Come autres font, † mais par diuers espreuue.

3. Elle pour son honneur vous doibt obeyssance
Moy vous obeyssant i'en puis receuoir blasme
N'estât, à mon regret, comme elle vostre femme.
Et si n'aura pourtant en ce point preeminence
Pour son propre profit ‡ elle vse de coustance
Car ce n'est peu d'honneur d'estre de voz biens dame
Et moy pour vous aymer i'en puis receuoir blasme
Et ne luy veux ceder en toute l'obseruance:
Elle de vostre mal n'à l'apprehension
Moy ie n'ay nul repos tant ie crains l'apparence:
Par l'aduis des parentz, elle eut vostre accointance
Moy malgré tous les miens vous porte affection
[*Et neanmoins, mon cœur, vous doubtez ma constance*] §
Et de sa loyauté prenez ferme asseurance.

* Buch., "fainte." † Buch., "ont fait."
‡ Buch., "Pour son profit elle."
§ Scots translation, "And not the less, my heart, ye doubt of my constance."

4. Par vous mon coeur & par vostre alliance
Elle à remis sa maison en honneur
Elle à jouy par vous de * la grandeur
Dont tous les siens n'ayent nul asseurance
De vous, mon bien, elle à eu l'accointance,†
Et à gaigné pour vn temps vostre coeur,
Par vous elle à eu plaisir en bon heur,
Et par vous a ‡ honneur & reuerence,
Et n'a perdu sinon la jouyssance
D'vn fascheux sot qu'elle aymoit cherement,
Ie ne la playns d'aymer donc ardamment,
Celuy qui n'à en sens, ny en vaillance,
En beauté, en bonté, ny en constance
Point de seçond. Ie vis en ceste foy.§

5. Quant vous l'amiez, elle vsoit de froideur.
Sy vous souffriez pour s'amour passion
Qui vient d'aymer de trop d'affection,
Son doy monstroit a tristesse de coeur,
N'ayant plaisir de vostre grand ardeur.
En ses habitz monstroit sans fiction
Qu'elle n'auoit paour qu'imperfection
Peust l'effacer hors de ce loyal coeur.
De vostre mort ie ne la vis peaur ‖
Que meritoit tel mary & seigneur.
Somme, de vous elle à eu tout son bien
Et na prisé ne iamais estimé
Vn si grand heur sinon puis qu'il n'est sien
Et maintenant dit l'auoir tant aymé.

* Buch., "vous la." † Buch., "la constance."
‡ Buch. inserts "receu." § Text of sextain corrupt.
‖ Omitted in Rochelle version as corrupt.

6. Et maintenant elle commence à voir
Qu'elle estoit bien de mauuais iugement
De n'estimer l'amour d'vn tel amant
Et voudroit bien mon amy deceuoir,
Par les escriptz tout fardez de scauoir
Qui pourtant n'est en son esprit croissant
Ains emprunté de quelque autheur luissant
A faint tresbien vn ennoy * sans l'avoir
Et toutesfois ses parolles fardeez,
Ses pleurs, ses plaincts remplis de fictions.
Et ses hautz cris & lamentations
Ont tant gaigné que par vous sont gardéez
Ses lettres [escriptes] ausquellez vous donnez f
Et si l'aymez & croyez plus que moy.

7. Vous la croyez las trop ie l'apperçoy
Et vous doutez de ma ferme constance,
O mon seul bien & mon seul esperance,
Et ne vous puis ie asseurer de ma foy
Vous m'estimez plus legier que le noy,†
Et si n'auez en moy nul' asseurance,
Et soupçonnez mon coeur sans apparence,
Vous deffiant à trop grand tort de moy.
Vous ignorez lamour que ie vous porte
Vous soupçonnez qu'autre amour me trâsporte,
Vous estimez mes parolles du vent,
Vous depeignez de cire mon las coeur
Vous me pensez femme sans iugement,
Et tout sela augmente mon ardeur.

* Buch., "envoy."
† Buch., "mestimez legier que le voy."

8. Mon amour croist & plus en plus croistra
Tant que je viuré,* tiendray à grandeur
Tant seulement d'auoir part en ce coeur
Vers qui en fin mon amour paroistra
Sy tres à clair que iamais n'en doutra,
[*Pour luy je lutterai contre malheur*] †
Pour luy ie veux recercher la grandeur,
Et feray tant qu'en vray cognoistera,
Que ie n'ay bien, heur, ne contentement,
Qu' a l'obeyr & servir loyaument.
Pour luy iattendz toute bonne fortune,
Pour luy ie veux garder sainté & vie
Pour luy vertu de suyure i'ay enuie ‡
Et sans changer me trouvera tout vne.

9. Pour luy aussi ie jette mainte larme.
Premier quand il se fist de ce corps [posses] seur,
Duquel alors il n'auoit pas le coeur;
Puis me donna vn autre dur alarme
Quand il versa de son sang mainte dragme
Dont de grief il me vint telle § doleur,
M'en pensay || oster la vie en frayeur
De perdre la[s] le seul rempar qui m'arme.
Pour luy depuis iay mesprise l'honneur
Ce qui nous peult seul pouruoir de bonheur.
Pour luy hazarde grandeur & conscience.
Pour luy [tous mes] i'ay quité parentz, & amis,
Et tous autres respectz sont apart mis.
Brief de vous seul ie cherche l'alliance.

* Buch., "viuray, &.'
† Scots—"For him I will stryve aganis wan weird."
‡ Rochelle version to read "luy tout." § Buch., "lesser."
|| Buch., "Que m'en pensa . . . & frayeur."

10. De vous, ie dis, seul soustein de ma vie
Tant seulement ie cerche m'asseurer,
Et si ose de moy tant presumer
De vous gaigner maugré toute l'enuie.
Car c'est le seul desir de vostre [chere] amie,
De vous seruir & loyaument aymer,
Et tous malheurs moins que riens estimer,
[Et] vostre volonté de mon mie[ux] suivie.*
Vous cognoistrez avecque obeyssance
De mon [loyal] deuoir n'omettant la sciance
A quoy ie estudiray pour [tousiours] vous complaire
Sans aymer rien que vous, soubz [la] suiection.
De qui ie veux sans nulle fiction
Vivre & mourir & à ce j'obtempere.

11. Mon coeur, mon sang, mon ame, & mon soucy,
[Las,] vous m'auez promis qu'aurons ce plaisir
De deuiser auecques vous à loysir,
Toute la nuict, ou ie languis icy
Ayant le coeur d'extreme paour transy,
Pour voir absent le but de mon desir
Crainte d'oublir vn coup me vient [a] saisir :
Et l'autre fois ie crains que rendurcie
Soit contre moy vostre amiable coeur
Par quelque dit d'un meschant rapporteur.
Un autre fois ie crains quelque auenture
Qui par chemin detourne mon amant,
Par vn fascheux & nouueau accident.
Dieu detourne tout malheureux augure.

* Rochelle text, "et vostre . . . de la mienne suivi," and later version "la mien sutvre."

12 Ne vous voyant selon qu 'auez promis
I'ay mis la main au papier pour escrire
D'vn different que ié voulu transcrire,
Ie ne scay pas quel sera vostre aduis
Mais ie scay bien qué mieux aymer scaura
Vous diriez bien que plus y gaignera.

. . . . . .

The Contracts of Marriage.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 54, from Cot. Lib. Calig., C. i.

At Seton the 5th day of April, the year of God, 1567, the right excellent, right high and mighty Princess, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scots, . . . in the presence of the eternal God, faithfully and on the word of a Prince, by these presents, takes the said James, Earl Bothwell, as her lawful husband, and promises and obliges her Highness, that how soon the process of divorce, intended betwixt the said Earl Bothwell and Dame Jane Gordon, now his pretended spouse, be ended by the order of the laws, her Majesty shall, God willing, thereafter shortly marry and take the said Earl to her husband. . . . He presently takes her Majesty as his lawful spouse, in the presence of God, and promises and obliges him . . . that in all diligence possible, he shall prosecute and set forward the said process of divorce already begun and intended betwixt him and the said Dame Gordon, his pretended spouse. . . .

MARIE, R.
JAMES, EARL BOTHWELL.

Here note, that this contract was made the v of April, within viii weeks after the murder of the King, which was slain the x of February before; also it was made vii days before Bothwell was acquitted, by corrupt judgment, of the said murder. Also it appears by the words of the contract itself, that it was made before sentence of divorce betwixt Bothwell and his former wife, and also in very truth was made before any suit of divorce intended or begun between him and his former wife, though some words in this contract seem to say otherwise, which is thus proved; for this contract is dated the v of April, and it plainly appears by the judicial acts, . . . wherein is contained the whole process of the divorce between the said Earl and Dame Jane Gordon his wife, that the one of the same processes was intended and begun the xxvi day of April, and the other the xxvii. —Buchanan's "Detection."

Nous Marie, par la grace de Dieu, Royne d'Ecosse, douaryere de France, &c, promettous fidellement et de bonne foy, et sans contraynte, à Jaques Hepburn, Comte de Boduel, de n'avoir jamais autre espoulx et mary que luy, et de le prendre pour tel toute et quant fois qu'il m'en requerria, quoy que parents, amys ou autres, y soient contrayres. Et puis que Dieu a pris mon feu mary Henry Stuart dit Darnley et que par ce moien je sois libre, n'estant sous obeissance de pere, ni de mere, des mayntenant je proteste que, lui estant en mesme liberté, je seray preste, et d'accomplir les ceremonies requises an mariage; que je lui

promets devant Dieu, que j'en prantz a tesmoignasge, et la presente, signee de ma mayn: ecrit ce—

MARIE, R.

[This contract merely promises to marry Bothwell, without constraint, and refers to the writer's freedom from the necessity of any one's permission, since Darnley's death. It contains no reference to the divorce.]

The Discovery of the Letters—1. The Earl of Morton's Declaration.

Henderson's Casket Letters, pp. 113–116, from fol. 216, Add. MSS. 32,091, Brit. Mus.

The trew declaration and report of me, James, Earl of Morton, how a certain silver box overgilt containing diverse missive writings, sonnets, contracts, and obligations for marriage betwixt the Queen mother to our sovereign lord, and James sometime Earl Bothwell, was found and used.

Upon Thursday the xix of June, 1567, I dinned at Edinburgh, the Laird of Lethington, secretary, with me. At time of my dinner a certain man came to me, and in secret manner showed me that three servants of the Earl Bothwell, viz. Mr. Thomas Hepburn, parson of Auldhamesokkes, John Cockburn, brother to the laird of Skirling, and George Dalgleish were come to the town, and passed into the castle. Upon which advertisement I on the sudden sent my cousin Mr. Archibald Douglas and Robert Douglas, his brother, and James Johnston of Westerrall, with others my servants, to the number of xvi or thereby, toward the castle to make search for the said persons,

and, if possible were, to apprehend them. According to which my direction, my servants passed, and at the first missing the forenamed three persons for that they were departed forth of the castle before their coming, my men then parting into several companies upon knowledge that the others whom they sought were separated, Mr. Archibald Douglas sought for Mr. Thomas Hepburn and found him not, but got his horse, James Johnston sought for John Cockburn and apprehended him, Robert Douglas seeking for George Dalgleish. After he had almost given over his search and inquisition a good fellow understanding his purpose came to him offering for a mean piece of money to reveal where George Dalgleish was. The said Robert satisfying him that gave the intelligence for his pains, passed to the Potterrow beside Edinburgh, and there apprehended the said George, with divers evidences and letters in parchment, viz. Earl Bothwell's infeftments of Liddesdale, of the Lordship of Dunbar and of Orkney and Shetland, and divers others, which all with the said George himself, the said Robert brought and presented to me. And the said George being examined of the cause of his direction to the castle of Edinburgh, and which letters and evidents he brought forth of the same, alleged he was sent only to visit [examine] the Lord Bothwell, his master's clothing, and he had not more letters nor evidents than these which were apprehended with him. But his report being found suspicious and his gesture and behaviour ministering cause of mistrust seeing the gravity of the action that was in hand, it was resolved by common assent of the noblemen

convened, that the said George Dalgleish should be surely kept that night, and upon the morn should be had to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh and there be put in the iron and torments for furthering of the declaration of the truth, wherein being set, upon Friday the xx day of the said month of June before any rigorous demeaning of his person, fearing the pain, and moved of conscience, he called for my cousin Mr. Archibald Douglas, who coming, the said George desired that Robert Douglas should be sent with him, and he should show and bring to light that which he had. So being taken forth from the irons, he passed with the said Robert to the Potterrow, and there, under the sceit [seat] of a bed took forth the said silver box, which he had brought forth of the castle the day before, locked, and brought the same to me at viii hours at night, and because it was late I kept it all that night. Upon the morn, viz., Saturday, the xxi of June, in presence of the Earls of Atholl, Mar, Glencairn, myself, the Lords Home, Sempill, Sanquhar, the Master of Graham, and the Secretary, and Laird of Tullibardine, Comptroller, and the said Mr. Archibald Douglas, the said box was broken open because we wanted the key, and the letters within contained sighted [*i.e.* examined] and immediately thereafter delivered again into my hand and custody. Since which time, I have observed and kept the same box, and all letters, missives, contracts, sonnets, and divers writings contained therein fairly without alteration changing adding or diminishing of anything found or received in the said box. This I testify and declare to be undoubted truth.

This is the copy of that which was given to Mr. Secretary Cecil upon Thursday the 8th of December 1586.

This is the true copy of the declaration made and presented by the Earl of Morton to the Commissioners and Council of England sitting in Westminster for the time, upon Thursday being the 29 of December 1568.

Subscribed with his hand thus, MORTON.

2. Buchanan's Account.

Translated from the History, book xviii. c. 51.

It happened that, about the same time, Bothwell sent one of his confidential servants to the castle of Edinburgh, to bring to him the silver casket, covered with inscriptions, which had once belonged to the French king, Francis. In it were letters of the Queen, almost all written with her own hand, in which both the King's murder and the whole sequel were plainly discernible; and in almost every letter there was an injunction to burn it. But Bothwell, who knew the Queen's inconstancy, of which he had recently seen many instances, preserved the letters, so that, in any disagreement, he might use their testimony, and prove himself not the author of the crime, but only an accomplice. This casket Sir Robert Balfour gave to Bothwell's servant to take away; but first he told the leaders of the opposite party what had been sent, and the agent and the destination. . . . It was captured. . . .

The Deposition of Thomas Nelson.

Goodall, vol. ii. p. 243, from Cott. Lib. Calig. i. 165.

. . . She [the Queen] caused take down the said new black bed [in Darnley's room], saying it would be soiled with the bath, and in the place thereof set up an old purple bed, . . . and the said keys that were delivered into the hands of Archibald Beton remained still in the hands of him, and others that awaited upon the Queen, and never were delivered again to the King's servants; for she set up a green bed for herself in the said low chamber, wherein she lay the said two nights, and promised also to have bidden [remained] there upon the Sunday at night. But after she had tarried long and entertained the King very familiarly, she took purpose (as it had been on the sudden), and departed as she spake to give the masque to Bastien who that night was married [to] her servant, namely the said Archibald Beton and one Paris, Frenchman, having the keys of her chamber, wherein her bed stood in, as also of the passage that passed toward the garden. . . . The Queen being departed toward Holyrood-house, the King within the space of one hour passed to bed, and in the chamber with him lay umquhill [*i.e.* the late] William Taylor. The deponent and Edward Symonds lay in the little gallery, that went direct to the south out of the King's chamber, . . . and beside them lay William Taylor's boy, who never knew of anything till the house wherein they lay was falling about them. . . .

Thomas Crawford's Deposition.

[With regard to the deposition of Crawford, see p. 144; the wording of the account of the conversation between Mary and Darnley should be carefully compared with that of the second Casket Letter.]

Hosack's Mary. Appendix L.

First I made my Lord [Lennox] my master's humble commendations unto her Majesty with the excuse that he came not to meet her, praying her grace not to think that it was either for proudness or yet for not knowing his duty towards her Highness, but only for want of health at the present, and also that he would not presume to come in her presence until he knew farther her mind because of the sharp words that she had spoken of him to Robert Cuningham, his servant, in Stirling, whereby he thought he was in her Majesty's displeasure. Notwithstanding, he has sent his servants and friends to wait upon her Majesty. She answered that there was no receipt against fear. I answered that my Lord had no fear for anything he knew in himself, but only of the cold and unkind words she had spoken to his servant. She answered and said that he would not be afraid in case he were not culpable. I answered that I knew so far of his Lordship that he desired nothing more than that the secrets of every creature's heart were written in their face. She asked if I had any farther commission. I answered no. Then she commanded me to hold my peace.

The words that I remember were betwixt the King

and the Queen in Glasgow when she took him away to Edinburgh.

The King for that my Lord his father was then absent and sick, by reason whereof he could not speak with him himself, called me unto him, and these words that had then passed betwixt him and the Queen, he gave me in remembrance to report unto the said my Lord his father.

After their meeting and short speaking together she asked him of his letters, wherein he complained of the cruelty of some. He answered that he complained not without cause, and as he believed, she would grant herself, when she was well advised. She asked him of his sickness, he answered that she was the cause thereof, and moreover he said, ye asked me what I meant by the cruelty specified in my letters, that proceedeth of you only, that will not accept my offers and repentance. I confess that I have failed in some things, and yet greater faults have been made to you sundry times, which ye have forgiven. I am but young, and ye will say ye have forgiven me divers times. May not a man of my age for lack of counsel, of which I am very destitute, fall twice or thrice, and yet repent and be chastised by experience. If I have made any fail that ye but think a fail, howsoever it be, I crave your pardon, and protest that I shall never fail again. I desire no other thing but that we may be together as husband and wife. And if ye will not consent hereto, I desire never to rise forth of this bed. Therefore I pray you give me an answer hereunto. God knoweth how I am punished for making my god of you, and for having no other

thought but on you. And if any time I offend you, ye are the cause, for that when any offendeth me, if for my refuge I might open my mind to you, I would speak to no other, but when anything is spoken to me, and ye and I not being as husband and wife ought to be, necessity compelleth me to keep it in my breast, and bringeth me in such melancholy as ye see me in. She answered that it seemed him she was sorry for his sickness, and she would find remedy therefor, so soon as she might.

She asked him why he would have passed away in the English ship. He answered that he had spoken with the Englishman, but not of mind to go away with him. And if he had, it had not been without cause, considering how he was used. For he had neither to sustain himself nor his servants, and needed not make further rehearsal thereof, seeing she knew it as well as he.

Then she asked him of the purpose of Highgate. He answered that it was told him. She required how and by whom it was told him. He answered that the Lord of Minto told him that a letter was presented to her in Craigmillar, made by her own device, and subscribed by certain others who desired her to subscribe the same, which she refused to do. And he said that he would never think that she who was his own proper flesh, would do him any hurt, and if any other would do it, they should buy it dear, unless they took him sleeping, albeit he suspected none, so he desired her effectuously to bear him company. For she ever found some ado to draw herself from him to her own lodging, and would never abide with him past two hours at once.

She was very pensive, whereat he found fault. He said to her that he was advertised she had brought a litter with her. She answered that because she understood he was not able to ride on horseback, she brought a litter that he might be carried more softly. He answered that it was not meet for a sick man to travel, that could not sit on horseback, and especially in so cold weather. She answered that she would take him to Craigmillar, where she might be with him, and not far from her son. He answered that upon condition he would go with her, which was that he and she might be together at bed and board as husband and wife, and that she should leave him no more. And if she would promise him that, upon her word, he would go with her when she was pleased, without respect of any danger either of sickness wherein he was, or otherwise. But if she would not condescend thereto, he would not go with her in any wise.

She answered that her coming was only to that effect, and if she had not been minded thereto, she had not come so far to fetch him, and so she granted his desire, and promised him that it should be as he had spoken, and thereupon gave him her hand, and faith of her body, that she would love him, and use him as her husband, notwithstanding before they could come together, he must be purged and cleansed of his sickness, which she trusted would be shortly, for she minded to give him the bath at Craigmillar.

Then he said he would do whatsoever she would have him do, and would love all that she loved. She required of him in especial, whom he loved of the nobility, and whom he hated. He answered that

he hated no man, and loved all alike. She asked him how he liked the Lady Reres, and if he were angry with her. He answered that he had little mind of such as she was, and wished of God she might serve her to her honour. Then she desired him to keep to himself the promise betwixt him and her, and to open it to nobody. For peradventure the Lords would not think well of their sudden agreement, considering he and they were at some words before. He answered that he knew no cause why they should mislike of it, and desired her that she would not move any of them against him even as he would stir none against her, and that they would work both in one mind, otherwise it might turn to great inconvenience to them both. She answered that she never sought any way by him, but he was in fault himself. He answered again that his faults were published, and that there were that made greater faults than ever he made that believed were unknown, and yet they would speak of great and small.

Farther, the King asked me at that present time what I thought of his voyage. I answered that I liked it not, because she took him to Craigmillar. For if she had desired him with herself, or to have had his company, she would have taken him to his own house in Edinburgh, where she might more easily visit him than to travel two miles out of town to a gentleman's house. Therefore my opinion was that she took him away more like a prisoner than her husband.

He answered that he thought little else himself, and feared himself indeed save the confidence he had

in her promise only; notwithstanding he would go with her, and put himself in her hands, though she should cut his throat, and besought God to be judge unto them both.

Endorsed—Thomas Crawford's Deposit.

Murray's Journal.

From a copy marked by Cecil, Cot. Lib. Calig., B. ix. fol. 247, quoted by Goodall, vol. ii. p. 247.

January 21, 1566.—The Queen took her journey toward Glasgow, and was accompanied with the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell to the Kalendar, my Lord Livingstone's place.

23.—The Queen came to Glasgow, and on the road met her, Thomas Crawford, from the Earl of Lennox, and Sir James Hamilton, with the rest mentioned in her letter. Earl Huntly and Bothwell returned that same night to Edinburgh, and Bothwell lay in the town.

24.—The Queen remained at Glasgow, like as she did the 25th and the 26th, and had the conference with the King whereof she writes; and in this time wrote her bill and other letters to Bothwell. And Bothwell this 24th day was found very timeous weseing [inspecting] the King's lodging that was in preparing for him, and the same night took journey towards Liddesdale.

27.—The Queen (conform to her commission as she writes) brought the King from Glasgow to the Kalendar towards Edinburgh.

28.—The Queen brought the King to Linlithgow,

and there remained all morn, while she got word of my Lord Bothwell his returning towards Edinburgh, by Hob Ormiston, one of the murderers. The same day the Earl Bothwell came back from Liddesdale towards Edinburgh.

29.—She remained all day in Linlithgow with the King, and wrote from thence to Bothwell.

30.—The Queen brought the King to Edinburgh, and put him in his lodging, where he ended; and Bothwell keeping tryst met her upon the way.

February 5.—She lodged all night under the King, in the chamber wherein the powder was laid thereafter, and whereof Paris, her chamber child, received the key.

7.—She lodged and lay all night again in the foresaid chamber, and from thence wrote that same night the letter concerning the purpose of the Abbot of Holyrood-house (*cf.* p. 140).

8.—She confronted the King and my Lord of Holyrood-house, conform to her letter written the night before.

9.—She and Bothwell supped at the banquet with the Bishop of the Isles, and after passing up accompanied with Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, to the King's chamber, and there they remained cherishing him, till Bothwell and his complices put all things to order, and Paris, her chamber child, received in her chamber the powder, and came up again and gave the sign, and they departed to Bastian's banquet and masque, about eleven hours, and thereafter they both returned to the Abbey, and talked till twelve hours and after.

10.—Betwixt two and three of the clock, the King was blown in the air by the powder.

The Depositions of Paris.

The depositions of Paris were not produced at Westminster. They were taken, in the early autumn of 1569, in connection with the charges against Lethington (who had by this time, with Kirkaldy of Grange, joined the Queen's party). "Paris" was the nickname of Nicholas Hubert, a French attendant of Bothwell, who, shortly before the murder, attached himself to the Queen's service. He was known to be concerned in the murder, but succeeded in escaping from the country. He took refuge in Denmark, and was delivered up on Murray's request. Queen Elizabeth wrote to the Regent, asking him to delay the execution of Paris, and Murray replied: "The said Paris arrived at Leith about the middle of June last [1699], I at that time being in the north parts of this realm far distant, whereupon it followed that, at my returning, after diligent and circumspect examination of him, and long time spent in that behalf, upon the xvi day of August by-past, he suffered death by order of law, so that before the receipt of your Highness letter by the space of 7 or 8 days he was execute." [Laing, vol. i. p. 295, from the Paper Office.] The letter is undated. But Professor Schiern, of Copenhagen, sent Mr. Hosack a copy of a document from the Danish archives, containing a receipt for the delivery of "two men, William Murray, and Paris, a Frenchman," accused of Darnley's murder. The receipt is dated 30th October 1568, and is given by Captain Clark, on behalf of the Scottish Government. (Hosack, vol. i. pp. 250–251.) There is a copy of the depositions in the Cotton Library, bearing the following note: "This is the true copy of the declaration and deposition of the said Nicholas Hubert or Paris, whereof the principal [original] is marked every leaf with his own hand. . . . Ita est Alexander Hay, scriba secreti consilii S.D.N. Regis, ac Notarius Publicus." But the originals, sent to London

in October 1569, and preserved in the Record Office, bear that they were taken "in presence of Mr. George Buchanan, Master of St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews; Mr. John Wood, Senator of the College of Justice; and Robert Ramsay, writer of this declaration, servant to my lord regent's grace." [Hosack, vol. i. p. 256.] The documents were first published in Anderson's "Collection" (1725), not in Buchanan's "Detection," along with the depositions of Hay, Hepburn, and Dalgleish.

The first deposition of Paris is a Confession, in French, made at St. Andrews on 9th August 1569, "without any constraint or interrogations." It states that, on the Wednesday or Thursday before the murder, Bothwell told Paris of the plot, and requested his aid. "What do you think?" said he. . . . "My Lord," said I, "I have served you these five or six years in all your great troubles . . . now, my Lord, by the grace of God, you are free of all these difficulties. . . . if you undertake this great matter you will be in worse case than before." Bothwell then assured him that Lethington was the moving spirit, and that Argyll, Huntly, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay were in league with him. Paris then asked, "My Lord, I pray you tell me of one whom you have not named; I well know that he is loved in this country of the common people." . . . "Who is that?" said he. "It is, my Lord," said I, "my Lord the Earl of Murray: I pray tell me what part he will take." To which he replied, "He will not meddle with it." "My Lord," said I, "he is wise." Then the Lord Bothwell turned his head to me . . . and said, "My Lord of Murray, my Lord of Murray, he will neither help nor hinder, but it is all one." . . . On the Saturday before the murder, Margaret Carwood, one of the Queen's attendants, told "Paris to go to Kirk-of-Field for the coverlet of the mattress in the Queen's room," which he did. . . . When he heard of Murray's leaving Edinburgh on Sunday morning to see his mother, he remarked that he did it to be out of the way when the wicked deed should take place, and so to dissociate himself from it. On Sunday evening Mary supped with Argyll, and seeing Paris, "as she washed her hands after supper, she asked me if I had removed the coverlet of the bed in her room

in the King's lodging." These are the main points of interest in the first document signed by Paris. [Laing, vol. ii. p. 296.]

The second deposition consists of answers to interrogations, and is dated at St. Andrews on August 10th, 1569. It makes a number of allegations against the Queen, with which the reader is already familiar. As it is a long document, we can quote only the most important sentences. "Interrogated when first he entered into credit with the Queen, he replied that it was when the Queen was at Callander on her way to Glasgow, when she gave him a purse with three or four hundred crowns to take to the Earl of Bothwell, who, after having received the said purse on the road between Callander and Glasgow, told him to go with the Queen and remain with her, and to attend well to what she did, saying that the Queen would give him letters to carry to him. When the Queen reached Glasgow, she said to him, 'I will send you to Edinburgh,' . . . and after he had remained two days with the said lady, she wrote the letters and gave them him, saying, 'You will tell the Earl of Bothwell, by word of mouth, to take to the Laird of Lethington the letters addressed to him.' Bothwell and Lethington were to consult as to whether Darnley should go to Craigmillar or to Kirk-of-Field, and Paris was to report their decision to Mary. Further, he was to 'say to Bothwell, that the King wished to kiss her, but that she would not, for fear of his malady.' Paris carried out his commission, and returned with the message that Kirk-of-Field was considered most suitable. On the way from Glasgow to Edinburgh the Queen received a letter from Bothwell and sent one to him, and also gave Paris a bracelet to take to him. At Kirk-of-Field, where the Queen's room was immediately underneath that of the King, Bothwell told him that he must not place the Queen's bed in the corner of the room under the corner containing the King's bed, because he wished to place the powder there. This order was reiterated by the Queen, whan she observed that it was being disregarded. . . . Paris said to the Queen, 'Madam, the Earl of Bothwell has commanded me to take the keys of your chamber, because he wishes to do something, that is, to place there the powder for

the explosion to blow the King in the air.' That night she wrote letters to Bothwell. . . ." The only other circumstance of importance affecting the Queen is a statement that Paris carried correspondence relating to Mary's seizure by Bothwell.

1573.—December 13. Confession of the Laird of Ormiston.

"The Laird of Black Ormiston" was put to death on 13th December 1573, under the government of the Regent Morton, for his share in the murder of Darnley. His confession was made to "John Brand, minister at Holyrood-house," on the day of his execution.

Laing's Scotland, vol. ii. p. 319, from State Trials, vol. i. p. 944.

As I shall answer unto God, with whom I hope this night to sup, I shall declare unto you the whole, from the beginning unto the end, of my part. First, I confess that the Earl Bothwell showed that same wicked deed unto me in his own chamber in the Abbey on Friday before the deed was done, and required me to take part with him therein . . . The said earl said unto me, "Tush, Ormiston, ye need not take fear for this, for the whole lords have concluded this same long since in Craigmillar, all that were there with the Queen, and none dare find fault with it when it shall be done." . . . Who [Bothwell] let me see a contract subscribed by four or five handwrites, which he affirmed to me was the subscription of the Earl of Huntly, Argyll, the Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Balfour, and alleged that many more promised, who would assist him if he were put at:

and thereafter read the said contract, which, as I remember, contained these words in effect: "That for as much it was thought expedient and most profitable for the common wealth, by the whole nobility and lords undersubscribed, that such a young fool and proud tyrant should not reign nor bear rule over them; and that for divers causes therefore, that they all had concluded that he should be put off by one way or other, and whosoever should take the deed in hand they should defend and fortify it as themselves, for it should be every one of their own reckoned and held done by themselves." Which writing, as the said earl shewed unto me, was devised by Sir James Balfour, subscribed by them all a quarter of a year before the deed was done.

1581.—June 2. The Confession of the Earl of Morton.

[The Earl of Morton having made during his tenure of the government many enemies, was driven from power and accused of complicity in the murder of Darnley. The indictment ("Arnold's Criminal Trials," p. 338, quoted by Laing, vol. ii. p. 350) mentions as his accomplices "James, some time Earl Bothwell; James Ormiston, some time of that ilk; Robert *alias* Hob Ormiston, his father's brother; John Hay, some time of Talla, younger; John Hepburn, called John of Bolton; and divers others," and says that the murderers "two hours after midnight . . . came to the lodging . . . and there . . . most vilely, unmercifully, and treasonably slew and murdered him . . . burnt his whole lodging foresaid, and raised the same in the air by force of gunpowder, which a little before was placed . . . by him and his foresaids under the ground, and angular stones, and within the vaults, in low and secret parts thereof."

The Earl was found guilty, on the 1st of June, of "art, part, foreknowledge, and concealing of the treasonable and unnatural murder foresaid," and was executed next day. A few hours before his death he made a confession to three of the ministers of Edinburgh, part of which is here quoted.]

Laing, vol. ii. p. 354.

Being required what was his part or knowledge in the King's murther, he answered with this attestation. As I shall answer to my Lord God, I shall declare truly all my knowledge in that matter, the sum whereof is this: After my returning out of England, where I was banished for Davie's slaughter, I came out of Wedderburn to Whittinghame [Castle], where the Earl Bothwell and I met together in the yard of Whittinghame, where, after long communing, the Earl Bothwell proposed to me the King's murther, requiring what would be my part therein, seeing it was the Queen's mind that the King should be taken away, because, as he said, she blamed the King more of Davie's slaughter than me. My answer to the Earl Bothwell was this, that I would not in any way meddle with that matter. . . . The Earl Bothwell . . . thereafter earnestly proposed the same matter again to me, persuading me thereto, because so was the Queen's mind, and she would have it to be done. Unto this my answer was, I desired the Earl Bothwell to bring me the Queen's handwrit of this matter for a warrant; other ways I would not meddle thereof, which warrant he never purchased [brought]. . . . Then it was said to him, "Apparently, my lord, ye cannot complain justly of the sentence that is given

against you, seeing with your own mouth ye confess the foreknowledge and concealing of the King's murther." . . . He answered, "That I know to be true indeed, but yet they should have considered the danger that the revealing of it would have brought to me at that time; for I durst not reveal it for fear of my life. For at that time to whom should I have revealed it? To the Queen? She was the doer thereof. I was minded to have told it to the King's self, but I durst not for my life, for I knew him to be a bairn of such nature, that there was nothing told him but he would reveal it to her again." . . . Then he said, "After the Earl Bothwell was cleansed by an assize, sundry of the nobility and I subscrived also a bond with the Earl Bothwell, that if any should lay the King's murder to his charge, we should assist him in the contrary. And thereafter I subscrived to the Queen's marriage with the Earl Bothwell, as sundry others of the nobility did, being charged thereto by the Queen's writ and command." Then being inquired in name of the living God, that seeing this murther was one of the most filthy acts that ever was done in Scotland, and the secrets thereof have not yet been declared, who were the chief doers, or whether he was worried, or blown in the air, and therefore pressed to declare if he knew any further secret thereunto; he answered, "As I shall answer to God, I know no more secret in that matter than I have already told."

Letter from Mr. Archibald Douglas to the Queen of Scots.

Robertson's History of Scotland, App. XIV., from Harl. Lib. xxxvii. bk. ix. fol. 126.

. . . It may please your Majesty to remember in the year of God 1566, the said Earl of Morton, with divers other nobility and gentry, were declared rebels to your Majesty. . . . True it is that I was one of that number, that heavily offended against your Majesty, and passed into France at the time of our banishment, at the desire of the rest, to humbly pray your brother the most Christian King, to intercede that our offences might be pardoned.—Your Majesty's mind so inclined to mercy, that, within short space thereafter, I was permitted to repair into Scotland, to deal with Earls Murray, Atholl, Bothwell, Argyll, and Secretary Lethington, in the name and behalf of the said Earl Morton, Lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and remanent accomplices. . . . At my coming to them . . . they declared that the marriage betwixt you and your husband had been the occasion already of great evil in that realm . . . they had thought it convenient to join themselves in league and band with some other noblemen resolved to obey your Majesty as their natural sovereign, and have nothing to do with your husband's command whatsoever; if the said earl would for himself enter into that band, they could be content to humbly request and travel by all means with your Majesty for his pardon. . . .

They desired that I should return sufficiently instructed in this matter to Stirling, before the baptism of your son, whom God might preserve. This message was faithfully delivered by me at Newcastle in England, where the said earl then remained, in presence of his friends and company, where they all condescended to have no further dealing with your husband, and to enter into the said band. With this deliberation, I returned to Stirling, where . . . your Majesty's gracious pardon was granted unto them all. . . . Immediately after, the said Earl of Morton repaired to Whittinghame, where the Earl Bothwell and Secretary Lethington came to him; what speech passed there amongst them, as God shall be my judge, I knew nothing at that time; but at their departure I was requested by the said Earl Morton to accompany the Earl Bothwell and Secretary to Edinburgh, and to return with such answer as they should obtain of your Majesty, which being given to me by the said persons, as God shall be my judge, was no other than these words, "Show to the Earl Morton that the Queen will hear no speech of that matter appointed unto him." When I craved that the answer might be made more sensible, Secretary Lethington said, that the earl would sufficiently understand it, albeit few or none at that time understand what passed amongst them. It is known to all men, as well by the railing letters passed betwixt the said earl and Lethington, when they became in divers factions, as also a book set forth by the ministers, wherein they affirm that the earl has confessed to them, before his death, that the Earl Bothwell

came to Whittinghame to propose the calling away of the King your husband, to the which proposition the said Earl of Morton afirms that he could give no answer unto such time he might know your Majesty's mind, which he never received. . . .

SECTION VIII

THE END

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First Impressions of Queen Mary.

[Queen Mary's life, after the conclusion of the conference at Westminster, was occupied with plots and negotiations for her escape or release from captivity. To give any coherent account of these varied incidents, covering, as they do, a period of nineteen years, would not be possible within the limits of the present volume, and the original authorities are not well adapted for the purpose. The extracts have, therefore, been selected

with the view of giving, mainly from Mary's own letters, some description of her life in prison, and of her own feelings and hopes. The connecting notes aim at giving such information as is essential to an intelligent appreciation of the situation: and the editor can only refer the reader to the second volume of Hosack's "Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers," which will be supplemented, in course of time, by Mr. Hay Fleming's second volume.

The following extract is from a letter of Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scrope to Queen Elizabeth, describing Mary's first days in England. She was in their keeping at Carlisle from May to July 1568, when she was removed to Lord Scrope's castle of Bolton in Yorkshire.]

"Repayring into the castle, we fownd the Queen of Skottes in her chamber of presence ready to receave us; where, after salutations made, and our declaration also of your highnes' sorrowfulness for her lamentable misadventures and inconvenyent arryvall, although your highnes was gladd and joyfull of her good escape from the peryll of her persone, with many circumstances thereunto belonging, and we found her in her answers to have an eloquent tonge, and a discrete head, and it seemeth by her doinges she hath stout courage and liberall harte adjoined thereunto. And after our delyvery of your highnes' letters, she fell into some passion with the water in her eyes, and therewith she drew us with her into her bedd-chamber, where she complayned unto us, for that your highnes did not answer her expectation for the admytting her into your presence forthwith, that, uppon declaration of her innocency, your highnes wold eyther withowt delay give her ayde yourselfe to the subduing of her

enemyes, or els being now come of good will and not of necessitie into your highnes' handes (for a good and greatest parte of her subjectes, sayd she, do remayne fast unto her styll), your highnes wold at the leaste forthwith gyve her passage through your countrye into France, to seek ayde at other prynces' handes, not dowting but both the French king and the King of Spayne wold gyve her relief in that behalf to her satisfaction.

"And nowe it behoveth your highnes, in mine opynion, gravely to consider what answer is to be made herein, specially because that many gentlemen of diverse shires here neare adjoyning within your realme, have heard her dayly defence and excuses of her innocency, with her great accusations of her enemyes very eloquently told, before our coming hither; and therefore I, the vice-chamberlayne, do referr to your highnes' better consideration, whether it were not honorable for you in the syght of your subjectes and of all forrayn prynces, to put her grace to the choyse whether she woll depart backe into her contrye without your highnes' impechement, or whether she woll remayne at your highnes' devotion within your realme here, with her necessary servants only to attend upon her, to see howe honorably your highnes can do for her. For by this meanes your highnes, I thynke, shall stopp the mouthes of back-byters that otherwyse wold blowe owte seditious rumours, as well in your own relame as elsewhere, of detaynyng of her ungratefully. And yet I thynk it is lykely that if she had her own choyse, she wold not go back into her own realme presently, nor

untyll she myght looke for succor of men owte of France to joyne with her there. Or if she wold go presently into her owne contrye, the worse were that peradventure with danger inoughe she myght get into France, and that wold hardly be done, if my Lorde of Murraye have a former inkling of her departure thither. And on the other syde, she cannot be kept so rygorously as a prysoner with your highnes' honor, in myn opynion, but with devyces of towles or toyes at her chamber wyndow, or elsewhere, in the nyght, a body of her agylity and spyryte may eskape soone, being so neare the border. And surely to have her carryed furder into the realme, is the hygh way to a dangerous sedition, as I suppose."

[A little later, Knollys wrote to Cecil the following frequently quoted account of his prisoner. It is printed in Wright's "Elizabeth," vol. i. pp. 280, 281.]

"This ladie and princess is a notable woman. She semeth to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledging of her estate regalle. She sheweth a disposition to speake much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very famylyar. She sheweth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies: she sheweth a readiness to expose herself to all perylls in hope of victorie; she delyteth much to hear of hardiness and valiancye, commending by name all approved hardy men of her cuntrye, altho' they be her enemies: and she commendeth no cowardice even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it semeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies

diminish, either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberall promises and rewards of her purse, or by division and quarrells raised among themselves; so that for victorie's sake, payne and perrylls semeth pleasant unto her, and in respect of victorie, welthe and all thyngs semeth to her contemptuous and vile."

[After Elizabeth had given her decision, Bishop Lesley protested, on behalf of Mary, that any papers she might be forced to sign during her captivity are *ipso facto* invalid. At this time the prisoner's hopes were raised high, for Murray and Maitland seem to have been interested in a proposal for her release and her marriage to the Duke of Norfolk. In October of the same year (1569) the proposition was finally abandoned, and Norfolk was placed under arrest by Queen Elizabeth. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland raised a revolt in Mary's favour, which was speedily suppressed (November 1569). In January of the following year the Earl of Moray was assassinated at Linlithgow, and the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, succeeded him as Regent. About the same time Maitland of Lethington finally seceded from "the King's party," and allied himself with Kirkaldy of Grange, who held Edinburgh Castle for Mary. The Norfolk conspiracy continued to raise the hopes of the Marians till the capture, in the spring of 1571, of Charles Baillie, who was carrying letters from the papal agent, Rudolfi, for Queen Mary, Norfolk, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Bishop of Ross. On the strength of Baillie's disclosures, Norfolk was put to death in June 1572. In August the Earl of Morton delivered up the Earl of Northumberland, who had taken refuge in Scotland, and he was executed in August. Elizabeth refused to gratify the English Parliament by putting her prisoner to death, but she entered into negotiations with the Scottish nobles with a view to their accepting the responsibility of taking Mary's life. The Earl of Mar (who had succeeded the Earl of Lennox as Regent in September 1571) refused to listen to the proposal. Mar died on October 8, 1572, and Morton became Regent. He regarded Elizabeth's

suggestion with favour, but broke off the negotiations as Elizabeth refused to give her open sanction to the deed.

In June 1573, Edinburgh Castle surrendered, and its fall, and the loss of Lethington and Grange, gave the death-blow to the hopes of the Queen of Scots. The following letter was written some six months after that event. It is characteristic of the correspondence that passed between Elizabeth and her prisoner, and it is interesting as showing that Mary had not abandoned all hope of more generous treatment.]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Strickland's Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 158.

Madam, my good sister, I consider myself very unfortunate in having found, in my adversity, so many persons ready to injure me by all sorts of means, and wrongfully; for I have not, that I know of, ever done anything to deserve their displeasure; yet they are every day making some fresh report to you, in order to make you suspicious of and angry with me, even at the moment when I am most anxious to avoid the least occasion of giving you offence. I state this, because, ever since you were pleased to send me to Mr. Wade and other commissioners, who informed me of part of your anger against me, I have endeavoured not to speak, to write, or even to think of anything that I could suppose likely to give you any cause whatever to be displeased with me.

Thus, when I heard of the loss of my castle of Edinburgh and other reverses, perceiving that people took pleasure in talking more about them than was necessary for comforting me, I flatly refused to converse upon that subject, not wishing to make my

misfortunes a pastime to any one, and not being able to remedy them; and also expressly not to furnish occasion to any one to put a malicious construction on my words: and yet you daily heard some false report concerning me, as I perceive from the letters of De la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the king [of France], my good brother. But if you would have the kindness to reserve an ear for me, before condemning me on the faith of those who, by such reports, strive to incense you against me, you would soon find that they have no other foundation for their statements than a malicious desire to injure me.

You have been informed that I had attempted to bribe your subjects with my money; but if you will please to inquire, you will find it a mere supposition, and that, as I have already remarked, in writing to the said Sr de la Mothe Fenelon, I have too many urgent calls upon the income I receive to be able to bring more money hither than what is absolutely necessary to pay my servants and provide for my wants. If it had been agreeable to you, you might have seen this from the account which I have kept of my moneys, of which I have reserved but a very small sum for the above purpose.

For the rest, it appears unfortunate for my affairs that I have gained so many friends, seeing the ill-turns that are done me on all sides; and, though it is asserted that I complain of being watched too closely, and that I am, nevertheless, continually gaining persons to my side, I assure you, madam, that I neither see nor speak to any creature in the world, with the exception of those under whose charge you have placed

me, and that with as much reserve as possible; for, as for any complaint and remonstrance that I have made to them, God knows they have not obliged me by any remedy they have applied; and even when they have granted me something, at the request of the said S^r^ de la Mothe Fenelon, it has always been so thwarted that I have been no better for it. I do not say this to complain of any one, for I have learned to suffer, since it is your pleasure, and I shall never attribute to any but you the good or evil that befalls me in this country, having come and placed myself in your hands as being my surest refuge, for the honour I have to be your nearest kinswoman and neighbour, and have no right to do otherwise than you command; and I should be very simple, having lived so long in trouble, if I did or said, in any house in England, what I wished not to be referred to you and to your council, were my affection other than it is towards you, seeing that I have access to none but those whom I know to be charged to watch me. I suffered too severely at Bourton [Bolton Castle]—recollect, if you please, the charity that was done me there—not to be on my guard elsewhere, though I may not appear to be so.

But, to conclude, I feel my conscience so clear, that, whatever reports may be made of my actions, provided people only adhere to the truth, I will give you no cause to be dissatisfied with me, and I therefore beseech you not to believe anything that may be told you to the contrary; for I asure you that I have neither written nor said more than I have said to your commissioners, or written to yourself, and in

proof of my innocence in some thing, if you should be pleased to adopt some good expedient, that with your favour I might go to France or Scotland, things being by you re-established for my honour and safety, you will find that I should feel myself greatly obliged to you, and I will gladly prepare to quit this country, that I may manifest elsewhere, when at liberty, my affection for you, which people strive to disguise from you, to deprive me of the opportunity of defending myself in your presence, in which the others have time and place to accuse me. Be this as it may, I beseech you in future to believe nothing concerning me, and not to credit or hearken to anything against me, but what you have sufficient proof of; for I desire nothing more than to do what is agreeable to you, if you will be pleased to grant me the means, and to permit me to have access to you, that I may lay before you my grievances; for, till that moment, I shall experience nothing but crosses: and, fearing that I have already fatigued you by this long letter, I will send the rest of my remonstrances to Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, and present my humble recommendations to your good favour, praying God to grant you, madam, good health and a long and very happy life. From the castle of Cheffeild [Sheffield] the 20 February 1574.

Your very affectionate and good
Sister and cousin, MARY R.

[The next few years were not rich in incident. The letter to the Cardinal of Guise throws some light on the conditions of Mary's life about this date and is interesting in several ways, especially as being typical of a large proportion of her correspondence.]

The Queen of Scots to the Cardinal of Guise.

Strickland, vol. i. p. 264.

At SHEFFIELD, the last day of January 1578.

My good uncle, I find, by your last letters, that all our relations are in good health, for which I praise God; and, as for ill treatment which I receive, you and they may be assured that it is without having deserved it from my good sister the Queen of England, whom I have never offended in word, deed, or thought, except that I think it wrong to be so hardly used; for which I blame some of her ministers, who, as I have had proofs, are continually seeking my ruin, either by instilling into the mind of the Queen unjust suspicions of me, or by underhand dealings, which you who are at liberty, have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with than I, who am a prisoner. Yet these ministers have neither the qualities nor the fidelity towards her which she deserves by the confidence which she places in them out of her good nature, but are full of craft and dissimulation. This is said to be a monster but too common near persons of our rank, when misled by far-fetched appearances we are not on our guard against it. But as I am sure of the rectitude of my conduct, I trust that the evil they strive to do me will turn to their own ruin; and, therefore, it is my intention to entreat the said lady, my good sister, to let me know what is laid to my charge, so that I may justify myself; for, as to letters, all that I have written have passed through the hands of Walsing-

ham, and I have written no others, and there is nothing in them which I am not ready to avow as being in no respect offensive either to the Queen or to her state. The King monsieur, my good brother [Henry III.], the Queen madame my mother-in-law [Catherine de Medici], you and my cousin [the Duke] of Guise, can bear witness to this, as I write to nobody else, excepting now and then, which letters you see too, and which contain only kind recommendations to my ambassador, to my friends and relatives, and to the prayers of madame my grandmother [the mother of Mary of Guise], who does not make much disturbance in the world. There can be no other ground to find the least fault with me, seeing the care that is taken to confine me closely. This is all I can do, and offer to answer any thing that may be requisite for the satisfaction of my said good sister. On this point, therefore, be under no apprehension that I have done any thing that can be prejudicial to me; but, as for any uneasiness you may feel at not hearing from me, if I am but permitted, I will soon relieve you from that; but, if I am not permitted, I leave it to your discretion and good will to solicit in my behalf, when you are in doubt, or await a future opportunity, if it is to my prejudice; and meanwhile I beg leave to commend to you all my affairs in France.

I have granted the request which you recommended to my notice, and shall be very glad, according to my means, of obliging all those whom you may recommend to me, and you, I trust, will do the same for those who may be recommended by me to you. If

some person be not permitted to come over here to render an account of my affairs and to bring me money, I and my servants shall be badly off this Lent, for we have none left, and all that we want here is not to be had for nothing. For my own part, if I could but have attendance, I would not care much; but very often I suffer in every way. This is the worst letter I have ever written; if it reach you, it will give you a hint in a similar case in future. When you return, kiss for me the hands of the king monsieur my brother-in-law, and mesdames the queens my mother-in-law and my sister, and monsieur my brother-in-law, and commend me to their good offices; beg them to command their ambassador, M. de Mauvissière, to defend me to the Queen of England, my good sister; and if they would be pleased to add a favourable recommendation to some of the principal persons, such as the Earl of Leicester, and others of the like quality, who, in order that my enemies may be compelled to inform me what they accuse me of, so that they may be answered, might without . . . I think it would be of great service to me, and I shall feel the more obliged to them. And in this place after commending myself most affectionately to your good grace, I pray God to grant you, my good uncle, health and a long and happy life.

Your most affectionate and obedient niece,

MARY.

[In 1581, the Earl of Morton was accused of participation in the murder of Darnley, was found guilty, and, in spite of Elizabeth's efforts to save him, was put to death. (See p. 237). Meanwhile Elizabeth and Mary had been writing about proposals

for Mary's release, while Mary, on the one hand, was planning her return to Scotland as joint-sovereign with her son James VI., and Elizabeth, on the other hand, was deliberating with her Council the advisability of Mary's death. In August 1582 occurred the mysterious affair known as the Gowrie Conspiracy, when the Earl of Gowrie, a Scottish noble attached to the English interest, seized the person of the young king in the castle of Ruthven. The news of this, carried probably in an exaggerated form to Queen Mary, was the occasion of the following long letter, which contains so much of interest that we quote it in full. It was written during a very severe illness from which the physicians expected that she would not recover.]

The Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Strickland, vol. i. p. 294.

Madam, upon that which has come to my knowledge of the last conspiracies executed in Scotland against my poor child, having reason to fear the consequence of it from the example of myself, I must employ the very small remainder of my life and strength before my death to discharge my heart to you fully of my just and melancholy complaints; of which I desire that this letter may serve you as long as you live after me for a perpetual testimony and engraving upon your conscience, as much for my discharge to posterity as to the shame and confusion of all those who, under your approbation, have so cruelly and unworthily treated me to this time, and reduced me to the extremity in which I am. But as their designs, practices, actions, and proceedings, though as detestable as they could have been, have always prevailed with you against my very just remonstrances and sincere deportment; and as the power which you

have in your hands has always been a reason for you among mankind; I will have recourse to the living God, our only judge, who has established us equally and immediately under Him for the government of His people.

I will invoke Him till the end of this my very pressing affliction that He will return to you and to me (as He will do in His last judgment) the share of our merits and demerits one towards the other. And, remember, madam, that to Him we shall not be able to disguise any thing by the point and policy of the world; though mine enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover their subtle inventions to men, perhaps to you.

In His name, and before Him sitting between you and me, I will remind you that, by the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name to Scotland while I was there, my subjects were corrupted and encouraged to rebel against me, to make attempts upon my person, and in a word, to speak, do, enterprise, and execute that which has come to the said country during my troubles; of which I will not, at present, specify other proof than that which I have gained of it by the confession of one who was afterwards among those that were most advanced for this good service, and of the witnesses confronted with him. To whom, if I had since done justice, he had not afterwards, by his ancient intelligences, renewed the same practices against my son, and had not procured for all my traitorous and rebellious subjects who took refuge with you that aid and support which they have had, ever since my detention on this side;

without which support, I think the said traitors could not since have prevailed, nor afterwards stood out so long as they have done.

During my imprisonment at Lochleven, the late Trogmarton [Throckmorton] counselled me on your behalf to sign that demission which he advertised me would be presented to me, assuring me that it would not be valid. And there was not afterwards a place in Christendom where it was held for valid or maintained except on this side (where it was maintained), even to having assisted with open force the authors of it. In your conscience, madam, would you acknowledge an equal liberty and power in your subjects? Notwithstanding this, my authority has been by my subjects transferred to my son, when he was not capable of exercising it.

And, since I was willing to assure it lawfully to him, he being of age to be assisted to his own advantage, it is suddenly ravished from him, and assigned over to two or three traitors; who, having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him, as they have from me, both the name and the title of it, if he contradicts them in the manner he may, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

When I was escaped from Lochleven, ready to give battle to my rebels, I remitted to you, by a gentleman express, a diamond jewel, which I had formerly received as a token from you, and with assurance to be succoured against my rebels, and even that, on my retiring towards you, you would come to the very frontiers in order to assist me; which had been confirmed to me by divers messengers.

This promise coming, and repeatedly, from your mouth (though I had found myself often deceived by your ministers), made me place such affiance on the effectiveness of it, that, when my army was routed, I had come directly to throw myself into your arms, if I had been able to approach them. But, while I was planning to set out, there was I arrested on the way, surrounded with guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity in which I remain to this day, after a thousand deaths, which I have already suffered from it.

I know that you will allege to me what passed between the late Duke Norfolk and me. I maintain that there was nothing in this to your prejudice or against the public good of this realm, and that the treaty was sanctioned with the advice and signatures of the first persons who were then of your council, under the assurance of making it appear good to you. How could such personages have undertaken the enterprise of making you consent to a point which should deprive you of life, of honour, and your crown, as you have shown yourself persuaded it would have done to all the ambassadors and others, who speak to you concerning me?

In the meantime, my rebels perceiving that their headlong course was carrying them much farther than they had thought before, and the truth being evidenced concerning the calumnies that had been propagated of me at the conference to which I submitted, in full assembly, of your deputies and mine, with others of the contrary party in that country, in order to clear myself publicly of them, there were the

principals, for having come to repentance, besieged by your forces in the castle of Edinburgh, and one of the first among them poisoned [Maitland of Lethington],* and the other [Kirkaldy of Grange] most cruelly hanged; after I had twice made them lay down their arms at your request, in hopes of an agreement, which God knows whether my enemies aimed at.

I have been for a long time trying whether patience could soften the rigour and ill-treatment which they have begun for these ten years peculiarly to make me suffer. And, accommodating myself exactly to the order prescribed me for my captivity in this house, as well in regard to the number and quality of the attendants which I retain, dismissing the others, as for my diet and ordinary exercise for my health, I am living at present as quietly and peaceably as one much inferior to myself, and more obliged than with such treatment I was to you, had been able to do, even to the abstaining, in order to take from you all shadow of suspicion and diffidence, from requiring to have some intelligence with my son and my country, which is what by no right or reason could be denied me, and particularly with my child, whom, instead of this, they endeavoured by every way to persuade against me, in order to weaken us by our division.

I was permitted, you will say, to send one to visit him there about three years ago. His captivity, then at Sterling, under the tyranny of Morton, was the cause of it, as his liberty was afterwards of the

* Maitland took poison to avoid the doom he knew to await him.

refusal to make a like visit. All this year past I have several times entered into divers overtures for the establishment of a good amity between us, and a sure understanding between these two realms in future. About ten years ago commissioners were sent to me at Chatsworth for that purpose. A treaty has been held upon it with yourself by my ambassadors and those of France. I even myself made last winter all the advantageous overtures concerning it to Beal that it was possible to make. What return have I had from them? My good intention has been despised, the sincerity of my actions has been neglected and calumniated, the state of my affairs has been traversed by delays, postponings, and other such like artifices. And, in conclusion, a worse and more unworthy treatment from day to day, in spite of anything which I am obliged to do to deserve the contrary, and my very long, useless and prejudicial patience, have reduced me so low that mine enemies, in their habits of using me ill, now think they have the right of prescription for treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I could not be, but as some slave, whose life and whose death depend only upon their tyranny.

I cannot, madam, endure it any longer; and I must in dying discover the authors of my death, or, living, attempt, under your protection, to find an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitorous designs of my said enemies, in order to establish me in some little more repose for the remainder of my life. To take away the occasions pretended for all differences between us, banish from your mind, if you please, all

that has been reported to you concerning my actions; review the depositions of the foreigners taken in Ireland; let those of the Jesuits last executed be submitted to you; give liberty to those who would undertake to accuse me publicly, and permit me to enter upon my defence; if any evil be found in me, let me suffer for it; it shall be patiently, when I know the occasion of it; if any good, allow me not to be worse treated for it, with your very high commission before God and man.

The vilest criminals that are in your prisons, born under your obedience, are admitted to their justification; and their accusers and their accusations are always declared to them. Why, then, shall not the same order have place towards me, a sovereign queen, your nearest relation and lawful heir? I think that this last circumstance has hitherto been on the side of my enemies the principal cause of all their calumnies, to make their unjust pretentions slide between the two, and keep us in division. But, alas! they have now little reason and less need to torment me more upon this account. For I protest to you, upon mine honour, that I look this day for no kingdom but that of my God, whom I see preparing me for the better conclusion of all my affliction and adversity.

This will be to you a monition to discharge your conscience towards my child, as to what belongs to him on this point after my death; and, in the meantime, not to let prevail to his prejudice the continual practices and secret conspiracies which our enemies in this kingdom are making daily for the advance-

ment of their said pretentions; labouring, on the other side, with our traitorous subjects in Scotland, by all the means which they can to hasten his ruin; of which I desire no better verification than the charges given to your last deputies sent into Scotland, and what the said deputies have seditiously practised there, as I believe without your knowledge, but with good and sufficient solicitation of the earl my good neighbour at York [Huntingdon].

And on this point, madam, by what right can it be maintained that I, the mother of my child, am totally prohibited not only from assisting him in the so urgent necessity in which he is, but also from having any intelligence of his state? Who can bring him more carefulness, duty, and sincerity than I? To whom can he be more near? At the least, if, when sending him to provide for his preservation, as the Earl of Cheresbury [Shrewsbury] gave me lately to understand that you did, you had been pleased to take my advice in the matter, you would have interposed with a better face, as I think, and with more obligingness to me. But consider what you leave me to think, when, forgetting so suddenly the offence which you pretended to have taken against my son, at the time I was requesting you that we should send together to him, you have despatched one to the place where he was a prisoner, not only without giving me advice of it, but debarring me at the very time from all liberty, that by no way whatever I might have any news of him.

And if the intention of those who have procured on your part this so prompt visit to my son had been

for preservation and the repose of the country, they needed not to have been so careful to conceal it from me, as a matter in which I should not have been willing to concur with you. By this means they have lost you the good-will which I should have had for you. And, to talk to you more plainly on the point, I pray you not to employ there any more such means or such persons. For, although I hold the Lord de Kerri (Cary, Lord Hunsdon) too sensible of the rank from which he is sprung, to engage his honour in a villainous act, yet he has had for an assistant a sworn partisan of the Earl of Huntingdon's, by whose bad offices, an action as bad has nearly succeeded to a similar effect. I shall be contented, then, if you will only not permit my son to receive any injury from this country (which is all that I have ever required of you before, even when an army was sent to the borders to prevent justice from being done to that detestable Morton), nor any of your subjects to intermeddle any more, directly or indirectly, in the affairs of Scotland, unless with my knowledge, to whom all cognizance of these things belongs, or with the assistance of some one on the part of the most Christian king my good brother, whom, as our principal ally, I desire to make privy to the whole of this cause, notwithstanding the little influence that he can have with the traitors who detain my son at present.

In the meantime, I declare with all frankness to you, that I hold this last conspiracy and innovation as pure treason against the life of my son, the good of his affairs, and that of the country; and that,

while he shall be in the state in which I understand he is, I shall consider no message, writing, or other act that comes from him, or is passed in his name, as proceeding from his free and voluntary disposition, but only from the said conspirators, who are making him serve as a mask for them, at the risk of his life.

But, madam, with all this freedom of speech, which I can foresee will in some sort displease you, though it is but the truth itself, you will think it still more strange, I am sure, that I importune you again with the request of much greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant. This is, that, not having been able hitherto by accommodating myself patiently for so long a time to the rigorous treatment of this captivity and, carrying myself sincerely in all things, yea, even in such as could concern you ever so little, in order to give some assurance of my entire affection for you, all my hope being taken away of being better treated for the very short period of life that remains to me, I supplicate you, for the sake of the painful passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, again I supplicate you, to permit me to withdraw myself out of your realm into some place of repose to seek some comfort for my poor body, worn out as it is with continual sorrow, that, with liberty of conscience, I may prepare my soul for God, who is daily calling for it.

Believe, madam, and the physicians whom you sent this last summer are able sufficiently to judge the same, that I am not for a long continuance, so as to give you any foundation of jealousy or distrust of me. And, notwithstanding this, require of me what-

soever just and reasonable assurances and conditions you think fit. The greatest power rests always on your side to make me keep them; though on no account whatsoever would I wish to break them. You have had sufficient experience of my observance of my simple promises, and sometimes to my prejudice; as I showed you upon this very point about two years ago. Recollect, if you please, what I then wrote to you; and you will never be able to bind my heart to you so much as by kindness, though you keep my poor body languishing for ever between four walls; those of my rank and nature not suffering themselves to be gained or forced by any rigour.

Your imprisonment, without any right or just ground, has already destroyed my body, of which you will shortly see the end, if it continues there a little longer; and my enemies will not have much time to glut their cruelty on me: nothing is left of me but the soul, which all your power cannot make captive. Give it, then, room to aspire a little more freely after its salvation, which is all that it now seeks, rather than any grandeur of this world. It seems to me that it cannot be any great satisfaction, honour, and advantage to you for my enemies to trample my life under foot, till they have stifled me in your presence. Whereas, if, in this extremity, however late it be, you release me out of their hands, you will bind me strongly to you, and bind all those who belong to me, particularly my poor child, whom you will, perhaps, make sure to yourself by it.

I will not cease to importune you with this request till it is granted. And on this account I beg you to

let me know your intention; having, in order to comply with you, delayed for two years till this time to renew my application for it. In the meantime, provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment in this country, that I may not suffer any longer, and commit me not to the discretion of any other whatever, but only your own self, from whom alone (as I wrote to you lately) I wish for the future to derive all the good and evil which I shall experience in your dominions. Do me this favour, to let me, or the ambassador of France for me, have your intention in writing. For, to confine me to what the Earl of Scherusbery (Shrewsbury) or others shall say or write about it on your behalf, I have too much experience to be able to put any assurance in it; the least point which they shall capriciously fancy being sufficient to make a total change from one day to another.

Besides this, the last time I wrote to those of your council, you gave me to understand, that I ought not to address myself to them, but to you alone; therefore, to extend their authority and credit only to do me hurt, could not be reasonable; as has happened in this last limitation, in which, contrary to your intention, I have been treated with much indignity. This give me every reason to suspect that some of my enemies in your said council may have procured it with a design to keep others of the said council from being made privy to my just complaints, lest the other should perhaps see their companions adhere to their wicked attempts upon my life, which, if they should have any knowledge of them, they would

oppose, for the sake of your honour and of their duty towards you.

Two things I have principally to require at the close: the one, that, near as I am to leaving this world, I may have with me for my consolation some honest churchman, to remind me daily of the course which I have to finish, and to teach me how to complete it conformably with my religion, in which I am firmly resolved to live and die.

This is a last duty which cannot be denied to the meanest and most abject person that lives; it is a liberty which you grant to all foreign ambassadors, and which all Catholic kings give to your ambassadors —the exercise of their religion. And even I myself have not heretofore forced my own subjects to anything contrary to their religion, though I had all power and authority over them. And that I should be deprived in this extremity of such freedom, you cannot in justice require. What advantage will accrue to you if you deny it me? I hope that God will forgive me if, oppressed by you in this manner, I render Him no other duty than what I shall be allowed to do in my heart. But you will set a very bad example to the other princes of Christendom to act towards their subjects with the same rigour that you will show to me, a sovereign queen, and your nearest relation, which I am and shall be as long as I live, in spite of my enemies.

I would not now trouble you concerning the increase of my household; about which, for the short time I have to live, I need not care much. I require then from you only two bed-chamber women to attend

me during my illness; attesting to you, before God, that they are very necessary to me now that I am a forlorn creature among these simple people. Grant these to me, for God's sake; and show, in this instance, that my enemies have not so much credit with you against me as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty in a point of so little importance, and involving a mere office of humanity.

I will now come to that with which the Earl of Scherusbery has charged me, if such a one as he can charge me, which is this: that, contrary to my promise made to Beal, and without your knowledge, I have been negotiating with my son, to yield to him my title to the crown of Scotland, when I had obliged myself not to proceed in it but with your advice, by one of my servants, who should be directed by one of yours in their common journey thither. These are, I believe, the very words of the said earl.

I will tell you upon this, madam, that Beal never had an absolute and unconditional promise from me, but, indeed, conditional overtures, by which I cannot be bound in the state in which the business is, unless the stipulations which I annexed to it are previously executed; and so far is he from having satisfied me about this, that, on the contrary, I have never had any answer from him, nor heard mention of it since on his part. And on this point, I well remember, that the Earl of Scherusbery, about Easter last, wishing to draw from me a new confirmation of what I had spoken to the said Beal, I replied to him very fully, that it was only in case the said conditions should be granted, and consequently fulfilled towards me. Both

are living to testify this, if they will tell the truth about it. Then, seeing that no answer was made to me, but, on the contrary, that by delays and neglects my enemies continued more licentiously than ever their practices carried on ever since the sojourn of the said Beal with me, in order to thwart my just pretensions in Scotland, so that the effects have been well witnessed there, by these means a door was left open for the ruin of myself and my son; I took your silence for a refusal, and discharged myself by express letters, as well to you as to your council, from all that I had treated upon with the said Beal.

I made you fully privy to what monsieur the King and madame the Queen had written to me with their own hands on this business, and I asked your advice upon it, which is yet to come, and on which it was in truth my intention to proceed if you had given it me in time, and you had permitted me to send to my son, assisting me in the overtures which I had proposed to you, in order to establish between the two realms a good amity and perfect intelligence for the future. But to bind myself nakedly to follow your advice before I knew what it would be, and, for the journey of our servants, to put mine under the direction of yours, even in my own country, I was never yet so simple as to think of it.

Now I refer to your consideration, if you knew of the false game which my enemies in this country have played me in Scotland, to reduce things to the point at which they stand, which of us has proceeded with the greatest sincerity. God judge between them

and me, and avert from this island the just punishment of their demerits!

Take no heed of the intelligence which my traitorous subjects in Scotland may have given you. You will find, and I will maintain it before all the princes of Christendom, that nothing whatever has passed there on my side to your prejudice, or against the welfare and tranquillity of this realm, which I affect not less than any councillor or subject that you have, being more interested in it than any of them.

There was a negotiation for gratifying my son with the title and name of king, and for ensuring as well the said title to him as impunity to the rebels for their past offences, and for replacing everything in repose and tranquillity for the future, without innovation of any kind whatever. Was this taking away the crown from my son? My enemies, I believe, had no wish whatever that the crown should be secured to him, and are therefore glad that he should keep it by the unlawful violence of traitors, enemies from times of old to all our family. Was this, then, seeking for justice upon the past offences of the said traitors, which my clemency has always surpassed?

But an evil conscience can never be assured, carrying its fear continually in its very great trouble within itself. Was it wishing to disturb the repose of the country to grant a mild pardon of everything past, and to effect a general reconciliation between all our subjects? This is the point which our enemies in this country are afraid of, much as they pretend to desire it. What prejudice would be done

to you by this? Mark, then, and verify, if you please, by what other point. I will answer it, upon my honour.

Ah! will you, madam, suffer yourself to be so blind to the artifices of my enemies as to establish their unjust pretensions to this crown after you are gone; nay, perhaps against yourself? Will you suffer them in your lifetime, and look on, while they are ruining and so cruelly destroying those so nearly connected with you, both in heart and in blood? What advantage and honour can you hope for in allowing them to keep us, my son and me, so long separated, and him and me from you?

Redeem the old pledges of your good nature; bind your relations to yourself; let me have the satisfaction, before I die, of seeing all matters happily settled between us; that my soul, when released from this body, may not be constrained to make its lamentations to God for the wrongs which you have suffered to be done it here below; but rather that, being happily united to you, it may quit this captivity to go to him, whom I pray to inspire you favourably upon my very just and more than reasonable complaints and grievances. At Sheffeild, this 8th of November, one thousand, five hundred, eighty-two.—Your very disconsolate and nearest kinswoman, and affectionate cousin,

MARY R.

[In January 1583, James VI. again assumed the government of Scotland. Mary's supporters became involved in a new plot for her escape. It was proposed that the Duke of Guise should invade the south of England, and James VI. the north, in her

interest. The plan had never any chance of being carried into execution, and it was discovered by Elizabeth's agents. Then succeeded one of the never-ending discussions of an agreement by which Mary was to be set free to share her son's throne, to which the following letter to the French ambassador refers.]

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière.

Strickland, vol. ii. p. 64.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, the principal object of this despatch is to beg you to make more urgent representations than ever, in order to the prosecution of your journey to Scotland, and of two others with you on behalf of the Queen of England madam my good sister and myself, to remove completely all the difficulties in that quarter which might prevent or delay the advance of the treaty begun between us; for, till I know for certain, from the lips of my son himself, his intentions touching his association to the crown of Scotland and conjunction with me to the said treaty, I shall adhere to my original derermination not to pass and enact anything without him, or to receive, through any other channel whatsoever, anything that shall come from him by message or in writing, as his, and as proceeding from his own movement and inclination. I never will do it, having, in time past, had too much proof and experience of his entire duty and good disposition towards me to be lightly persuaded that he can now be so much changed by the practices and the persuasion of my enemies, as well in this country as about him. I have written freely what I think on the subject to the said queen my good

sister in my enclosed letters, which I request you to deliver to her from me, urging, as much as I can, that journey, and representing to her how necessary your prudence is there for upholding the said association as made, and principally upon the advice and counsel of the king your master, monsieur my good brother, and of the queen my mother-in-law, they having been the first and the only persons who persuaded me to it.

Exert yourself, on your part, by all means in your power, to bring about your said journey to Scotland, and, if possible, to this place; but it is necessary to be expeditious, lest things in Scotland should become irremediable. Meanwhile, if you learn that it is in contemplation to make a change in my keeper, I beg you to interpose the name and credit of my said lord and brother to prevent it, so that no alteration be made until the said queen my good sister has taken a final resolution touching the treaty, as it cannot be otherwise but that in two months, at latest, things must be sufficiently settled both in Scotland and elsewhere for a speedy end to be put to them, as the state of my health, so impaired by an imprisonment of seventeen years, requires more than ever. I place entire confidence in the said queen my good sister, whose good disposition I perceive, and learn to know better from day to day, by her honourable conduct towards me in what proceeds from her own movement; but, on the other hand, I must confess that I am grieved to the heart by the crosses which I have to endure, but especially by the estrangement of my son from me, and his being set against me; pray-

ing God to let me die rather than learn for certain that such a thing can be.

It would not be amiss, I think, if, by the first opportunity you have of writing to Scotland, you would intimate to my son that I have requested you, in case he refuses the legitimate title and authority of king in association with me, as he has written to the Queen of England madam my good sister to cease to give him that title in all negotiations in this country, and that I will take steps to cause the same course to be followed in all parts of Christendom to which my influence extends; nay, even give him my everlasting malediction, and deprive him, as far as in me lies, of all the grandeur which he can claim in this world in my right, leaving him only that of his father to enjoy; for I think no punishment, divine or human, can equal such enormous ingratitude, if he is guilty of it, as to choose rather to possess by force and tyrannically that which justly belongs to me, and to which he cannot have any right but through me, than of my good-will and free gift. Moreover, I request you to thank the said queen my good sister, in my name, for the honourable care which she demonstrates to me that she takes that I should be well accommodated in this country, both in regard to servants and other necessary things; but, as the principal thing that can contribute to the recovery and preservation of my health is to take the air abroad, which I can now only do on horseback, I must employ your solicitation to procure me some order for the sixteen horses for which I have already applied, as well for myself as for some of my women

and others of my servants, who will have to accompany me; the expense cannot be great; and this I should esteem the principal gratification in my whole treatment from this time forward.

As for the new servants that have been granted me, I thank Mr. de Walsyngham for them. You will once more request him, if you please, to give you assurance of their passports when they arrive, agreeably to the enclosed memorandum, for I cannot specify their names, because that depends on the choice made by my ambassador and others to whom I shall address myself in France. Learn, in particular, if Nau's brother will be permitted to come hither from Scotland, where I think he still is at present; and, in this case, I beg you to send to him the enclosure, which I have written to him desiring him to come. His good qualities and the assistance which his brother will receive from him, in matters relating to my service and his office, make me the more desirous of this, and I shall feel an especial obligation to the said De Walsyngham for it.

. . . I thank you for your choice you give me of your people to come hither to serve me, and will make up my mind about it between this and my next despatch. I have been much pleased with the headdresses which my *commère*, your good wife, has sent me. God grant her a happy delivery, and have you both in his holy and worthy keeping. Tuttbury, the xith day of March 1585.—Your entirely best friend,

MARY R.

[The following memorial explains itself. In the interval since her letter of March 11, Mary had been informed that Gray, the

agent of James VI., was behaving falsely to her and acting against her interests, and she did not know whether he was carrying out his master's orders or not. It is not easy to discover how far James sympathised with his mother, but there can be no doubt that his whole policy throughout was determined by the chance of succeeding to the throne of England, nor is there any reason to believe that he was at all desirous of sharing his power with Mary.]

Memorial addressed by the Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth.

Sent by M. SOMMERS.

Strickland, vol. ii. p. 74.

The Queen of Scotland beseeches the Queen of England her good sister to give her an answer to the three last letters which she has written to her, especially touching a final and clear determination on the treaty for her liberty, respecting which, for reasons she has amply explained to the said Sr. Sommer, she begs more earnestly than ever that it may please the said Queen her good sister to negotiate separately with her, without any intervention on the part of Scotland.

That, to settle those matters which formerly led to differences between her and her son, she may be permitted to send some one to him, accompanied by the French ambassador, agreeably to the most express commission which he has to this effect from the King his master.

That the ordinary communication which she has had hitherto with the said ambassador may be continued; and accordingly, directions given for the more diligent despatch of their packets, as well on

the one part as the other; nothing passing between them that can in any way prove prejudicial to this kingdom.

That her household establishment here be determined upon and fixed; in order that, as the said Queen her good sister has been pleased to assure her, she may take her into her own keeping, and into her own house: also, that from her alone she may receive her allowance in this country.

That a second house may be granted her to remove to on finishing her course of diet, or next autumn at latest; it being quite impossible, without great detriment to her health, to live in winter in the two rooms which she has here for the whole of her lodgings, which are built of wood, old, full of holes, and tumbling down on all sides, and having no sheltered place whatever to walk in or retire to.

That in regard to the servants allowed her, and that they may not have the trouble of travelling hither in vain, it be declared whether she shall be permitted to bring over any she may choose, as she might select some from the household of Guise, having no other acquaintance in France, through whom to get them.

And that, as for ordinary varlets, her servants may be permitted to employ Englishmen, so as to avoid the frequent coming and going of such persons, whom it is difficult to retain.

Done at Tuthbury, the xth of May 1585.

[The increased rigour of Mary's imprisonment towards the close of her life is evidenced by the following letter, written after Elizabeth's refusal of the foregoing petition. M. l'Aubes-

pine de Chateauneuf succeeded M. de Mauvissière as French Ambassador in September 1585. Sir Amyas Paulet had been appointed Mary's keeper in the preceding March.]

The Queen of Scots to M. de Mauvissière and M. de Chateauneuf.

Strickland, vol. ii. p. 78.

Gentlemen, foreseeing that your answer to my last will be some time before it reaches me, I have thought it best, without waiting for it, to impart to you my just complaints concerning what Sir Amyas has been directed to signify to me, touching the memorial which I have sent you, which amounts, in fact, to an absolute refusal of the principal requests contained in it, namely, those relating to the change and conveniences of dwelling, intelligence concerning the affairs of my dowry by the Sieur de Cherelles, and the increase of the number of my servants—things, though trifling and of no importance to the Queen of England madam my good sister, yet so necessary for the preservation of my life and health, so mainly contributing to the few comforts that are left me in this world, and to my consolation between these four walls (where I perceive more clearly from day to day that they are determined to reduce me to the last extremity), that, but for the very urgent need I have of them, I should not have stooped to beg for them with such earnest and persevering supplications, that I think I could not have bought them at a dearer rate; regretting exceedingly that, for all the duty I have imposed upon myself to please the said

queen in every thing and in every place, so little consideration and respect is paid to my honour and content in the matter of my state and treatment here.

To give you then ocular proof of the situation in which I find myself in regard to dwelling in the first place, and that you may remonstrate in my behalf on the subject with the said Queen (who, I presume, has never been accurately informed about it), I will tell you that I am in a walled enclosure, on the top of a hill, exposed to all the winds and the inclemencies of heaven. Within the said enclosure, resembling that of the wood of Vincennes, there is a very old hunting lodge, built of timber and plaster, cracked in all parts, the plaster adhering nowhere to the woodwork, and broken in numberless places; the said lodge distant three fathoms or thereabouts from the wall, and situated so low that the rampart of earth which is behind the wall, is on a level with the highest point of the building, so that the sun can never shine upon it on that side, nor any fresh air come to it; for which reason it is so damp that you cannot put any piece of furniture in that part without its being in four days completely covered with mould. I leave you to think how this must act upon the human body; and, in short, the greater part of it is rather a dungeon for base and abject criminals than a habitation fit for a person of my quality or even of a much lower. I am sure that there is not a nobleman in this kingdom, nor even one of those who, being inferior to noblemen, wish to reduce me beneath themselves, who would not deem it a tyran-

nical punishment to be obliged to live in so straitened and inconvenient a habitation, as they want to force and constrain me to do; and the only apartments I have for my own person consist—and for the truth of this I can appeal to all those who have been here —of two little miserable rooms, so excessively cold at night, that but for the ramparts and entrenchments of curtains and tapestry which I have had made, it would not be possible for me to stay in them in the daytime; and out of those who have sat up with me at night during my illnesses, scarcely one has escaped without fluxion, cold, or some disorder. Sir Amyas can bear witness that he has seen three of my women ill at once from this cause alone; and my physician himself, who has had his share of it, has several times positively declared that he will not take charge of my health during the next winter, if I am to remain in this house. As for replastering, or in any way repairing or enlarging it, you may conceive how wholesome it would be for me to live in such new pieces of patchwork, when I cannot endure the least breath of damp air in the world; and on this account it is no use whatever to offer me to make any repairs or any new conveniences against the winter. As for the house to which it is proposed that I should remove during the said repairs, it is a building attached, as it were, to this; and my keeper can testify that it is not in his power to lodge the few servants I have; and, without them, I have too many reasons to be afraid of living thus apart, whereof at this time I will say no more. If I must proceed to conveniences, I have not, as I

heretofore informed you, any gallery or cabinet to retire to occasionally alone, excepting two paltry holes, with windows facing the dark surrounding wall, and the largest of them not above a fathom and a half square. For taking the air abroad, on foot or in my chaise (there being no vacant spot on the top of that hill), I have only about a quarter of an acre of ground contiguous to the stables, which Sommer had dug up last winter, and enclosed with a fence of dry wood; a place, to look at, fitter to keep pigs in than to bear the name of garden: there is not a sheep-pen amidst the fields but makes a better appearance.

As for taking exercise on horseback, during the whole winter, as I experienced, sometimes snow, sometimes rain, break up the roads in such a manner, that there is no house containing so many people of the lower sort as this does, which can be kept clean long, whatever pains may be taken with it. Then, again, this house having no drains to the privies, is subject to a continual stench; and every Saturday they are obliged to empty them and the one beneath my windows, from which I receive a perfume not the most agreeable. And if to the above I may be permitted the opinion which I have conceived of this house, a thing to be considered in the case of persons inferior in station to me when in ill-health, I will say, that as this house has been my first prison and place of confinement in this kingdom, where from the first I have been treated with a great harshness, rudeness, and indignity, so have I always held it since to be unlucky and unfortunate, as last

winter, before coming hither, I caused to be represented to the said Queen of England; and in this sinister opinion I have been not a little confirmed by the accident of the priest,* who, after having been grivously tormented, was found hanging from the wall opposite to my windows, about which I wrote to you, Monsieur de Mauvissière; and, then, four or five days afterwards, another poor man was found who had tumbled into the well; but this I did not mean to compare with the other. Then I have lost my good Rallay, who was one of the chief consolations of my captivity; another of my servants is since dead, and several more have been sorely troubled with illness.

So I cannot have any convenience or enjoyment here; and, but for the express assurances which the said Queen my good sister gave me of honourable treatment, and which caused me to wait for it with patience till now, I would never have set foot in this place; sooner should they have dragged me to it by force, as I now protest that nothing but the force of constraint makes me stay here, and that, in case my life should be cut short by illness, from this time I impute it to the deficiency of my dwelling, and to those who are determined to keep me there, with the intention, it would seem, to make me wholly despair for the future of the goodwill of the said Queen my good sister in matters of importance; since in such reasonable, ordinary wants I am so ill-used, and promises made to me are not kept. To allege that the season of the year is already too far advanced, and

* He had committed suicide to escape persecution.

the time too short to provide a new habitation for me, as if I had not long ago made remonstrances on the subject, is to forget that at the time my secretary was there, he spoke about it very urgently to the Queen my good sister and left a memorial at his departure for Mr. Walsyngham. Since then the point has been urged anew by Sommer, as well by a message from my own lips as by a memorial which was given to him; whereupon I am told that the memorial was delivered to you, Mr. de Mauvissière, and that the fault lies in your not having followed it up; nevertheless, I have written to you several times, and myself solicited Sir Amyas about it, so that no trouble has been spared on that head.

As for the inconveniences of removal at this season, and for the provisions requisite to be made, they did not stand last year upon such ceremony, when they obliged me to leave Sheffeild for Winkfeild, and Winkfeild for this place in the depth of winter, when I was scarcely able to turn in my bed, which I had kept for nearly three months before. This house, which had not been inhabited for the space of fifteen or sixteen years, was at that time prepared in less than five weeks, and, such as it was, they lost no time in bringing me to it, no matter whether with or without my consent. However, I affectionately beg you both to insist more urgently and perseveringly than ever, in the name of the king my good brother and on my own behalf, on my removal from this house and the conveniences which from the foregoing you may judge necessary in the new one that shall be appointed for me; and do not be put off, if you

please, with excuses, evasions, or fair words that may be given you, if they are not to the effect that is capable of satisfying and contenting me in this matter. Insist, also, by all means, I beg you, on permission for the Sieur de Cherelles to come to me, reminding the said Queen my good sister how she was pleased, till last winter, to allow me to have some one over every year to give me an account of my affairs, as it is very requisite, and more than reasonable, especially considering the state in which they are at present from the attacks that are daily made upon my rights, and the hindrances and annoyances that are given me in the enjoyment of the little which is left me of my dowry, one third of which and more has been already wrested from me piecemeal; and it is not in my power to apply a remedy and set things to rights, unless I can be minutely informed of the particulars by some trusty person, who, it is well known, would not attempt to write to me by letters which must pass through so many hands, neither would I thus openly inform them of my intentions. There is no criminal or prisoner, who is not permitted to receive accounts of his private affairs, and to manage them as he pleases, prisons having never been designed for the punishment of malefactors, but only for safe custody; and it seems, on the contrary, that as for me, born a sovereign queen, who sought refuge in this kingdom upon the assurance and promise of friendship, they wish to make this imprisonment drive me from affliction to affliction to the very last extremity, as if it were not sufficient that, after seventeen of the best years of my life spent in such misery, I have lost the

use of my limbs, and the strength and health of the rest of the body, and various attacks have been made upon my honour, but they must persecute me into the bargain, and abridge me as much as possible of the property and conveniences yet left me in this world. Learn, then, if you please, gentlemen, if the Queen my good sister intends to treat me in future like a condemned criminal, and to keep me in perpetual imprisonment, as it would appear from the severity with which I am used, without getting rid of me altogether by giving me my liberty (from which, agreeably to the conditions which I offered, she would derive more advantage than she ever will from my detention or death), or, on the other hand, affording me occasion to accommodate myself to her satisfaction in captivity. My requests are not made for pleasure but from necessity, not against her safety but for her honour, and such I may say as I have more than justly merited. What encouragement to do better can it be to me to see myself, after the entire voluntary submission to which I made up my mind, more harshly and rigorously treated than ever, and with more demonstration, in appearance and reality, of ill-will, suspicion, and mistrust!

I had more servants when I was with the Earl of Shereusbury than I have now, when I have more need of them, especially in my chamber, on account of the aggravation of my bodily ailments. Reckon up those whom I have discharged, or who have died, without my having as yet any others in their place, and that family of my embroiderer who is about to leave me; the number of those whom I require will not be

much greater, nor superior even in quality, excepting the Countess of Athol, for whom, also, I applied as a favour, because I had about me here in this solitude, as I represented, no companion worthy of my rank and my age, which would be highly proper and suitable. Seton and my good Rallay formerly supplied the want of better, and I cannot imagine any sufficient reason for denying me the said countess in their stead, unless they are fearful that she may give me some consolation by bringing me tidings of my son; whether in this there be any respect for humanity, I leave all those to consider who have really felt parental love for their children, which is the more fervent in me because my separation from my son is accompanied by so rigid a prohibition of all communication between him and me, that I am debarred even from hearing about his state and health. I will not hereupon call to mind that the said Queen promised me, last winter, that if the answer of my son to the letter which I was writing to him did not satisfy and content me, I should have permission to send to him again and to learn more precisely his intentions relative to those matters which had been in doubt between him and me. Nevertheless, this has hitherto been peremptorily refused and denied me, without consideration that such conduct tends to confirm the intimation given me formerly by the said Gray, that in this quarter people were only striving to produce division and a total separation between my son and me. With respect to the other servants whom I have applied for, such as Fontenay and Thomas Levingston, I cannot discover any ground for the refusal made me,

unless it be that, as formerly the said Gray, at the time of his journey to this country, and the Countess of Shereusbury assured me, the right way to cause anything whatever to be denied me, was to signify that it would be particularly agreeable to me, and then I must never expect to have it, but just the contrary to what I desired. They do not approve of my employing English, in order to make it appear more plainly that I am looked upon as an absolute foreigner in their country; at least they ought to allow me to have my own subjects or French people, such as I like, and to receive from their faithful service some consolation between these four walls; where being confined and watched so closely as they are accustomed to be, I know not what just suspicion can be conceived of them, when once shut up here. However, I beg you to make very urgent application that I may be permitted to send for those whom I have demanded, as well from France as from Scotland, according to the promise made me by the lips of the said Queen my good sister herself that I should have an increase and supply of servants; a promise confirmed to my secretary Mr. Walsyngham, and since in his name by Wade, having given it in writing to my said secretary, and again by Sir Raff Sadler, and Sommer when there, and lately by my present keeper, being assured in these very words that I might send to France and Scotland for such persons as I thought proper, but that I must not have English on any account.

If they are afraid lest, by means of the said servants whom I desire to bring over from France, I should

receive news of the affairs of that country, it is a vain apprehension, for I have nothing wherein to intermeddle there, and if I had any interest, it is very certain that those who might be well affected towards me, and have compassion on my condition here, will not take one step less, either forward or backward, because they are deprived of the means of receiving news from me, and I from them; on the contrary, that would spur them on still more, apprehending the danger from death to be greater than peradventure it is.

This is, for the present, what I have to communicate to you on the sudden, concerning the just dissatisfaction I feel on finding myself so unworthily used and treated; wherefore, hoping through your favourable intercessions and good offices to find some remedy, I shall only apologise for having troubled you about such bagatelles, and especially for being obliged to make known to you my real state here, which otherwise might be disguised from you; so awaiting your answer about all this, I pray God to have you, gentlemen, in his holy and worthy keeping. Written at the Castle of Tutbury, in England, the vth September 1585.—Your entirely best friend,

MARY R.

Gentlemen, I am ashamed to be under the necessity of representing to you so particularly my miserable situation here, but the evil presses me and constrains me to declare it to you, in order that they may not put you off yonder with words without affording me any relief, of which I have no hope whatever, since I see nothing at this time which tends to realise that honourable

treatment which has been so much talked of. Sir Amyas has already signified to me the reply to my memorial, and an hour ago, I received your last, and on considering both, I find, in fact, no cause for content, either in the one or the other, which makes me entreat you, more earnestly than ever, to follow up the contents of the above letter.

[In consequence of the remonstrances of the ambassadors, Mary was removed from Tutbury to Chartley Castle in Staffordshire, in January 1586. In the course of the year 1585-6, Mary became involved, to what extent is disputed, in what is known as the Babington Conspiracy, which had for its object the assassination of Elizabeth and her ministers, and the restoration of Catholicism throughout Great Britain. Walsingham received information as to the plot, and obtained possession of letters alleged to be written by Mary to Babington. The conspirators were put to death, and Mary was tried by a Commission of Peers in the end of 1576. The following verses, addressed to the conspirators, indicate the common feeling in England at the time. They are quoted from a poem by William Kempe, published in 1587, and entitled "A Dutiful Invective against the most haynous Treasons of Ballard and Babington . . . together with the horrible attempts and actions of the Queen of Scottes. . . . For a New Yeares gift to all loyall English subjects." The author of the verses is not Kemp the player, but a writer of some treatises on Education. *Cf.* Dict. Nat. Biog.]

The Scottish Queen, with mischief fraught, for to perform the will
Of him whose pupil she hath been hath used all her skill;
By words most fair, and loving terms, and gifts of value great:
For to persuade your hollow hearts, your duties to forget,

And for to be assistant still, her treacheries to further,
Wherein she reckons it no sinne though you commit great murther.
Such is her heinous hateful mind, who long hath lived in hope,
By such her subtle lawless means (and help of cursëd Pope)
Both to deprive our sovereign Queen of her imperial crown,
And true religion to repel, God's Gospel to put down.

. . . . . .

Wherein you fully did conclude that it could never be,
Except you first conspired her death, by secret treachery.
And thereupon consulted oft, and sundry ways did seek
For to perform this devilish act, which you so well did like.
Next unto this your promise was to lend your help and aid,
With all the force and power you could, to foes that should invade.
And thereby for to set at large that Queen whom I did name,
Who always in her treacherous mind, doth nought but mischief frame.

. . . . . .

For plainly hath it fallen out, by sundry proofs most true,
She was the only maintainer of all this treacherous crew:
For trial whereof we may see, how that our gracious Queen,
Both having care the very truth most plainly might be seen,
And she with honour might be tried, in that she was a Prince,
Did cause the chiefest peers her faults by justice to convince:
Who did assemble at her place, by name called Fotheringay,
There to examine out the truth and hear what she could say;
And to that end did then direct to them a large commission
For to examine every one in whom they found suspicion.
Who meeting at that place, it plainly did appear,
How that she was the chiefest cause of all our troubles here.
And that she by persuasions did seek for to withdraw
The subjects' heart from this our Queen, who erst had lived in awe;
And that the treasons named before were all by her consent,
And that she author was thereof, and did the same invent,

Whereto her answer was so light, and to so small effect,
As that the weakness of the same her treasons did detect.
And thereupon these peers of State, having a due regard
To what she could object thereto, and likewise nothing spared
By circumstance to search out truth, did forthwith then pronounce
That she was guilty of these crimes, and could not them renounce.
Which sentence so by them declared, was by our Queen's consent,
Plainly revealed to all estates in court of Parliament;
And was by them considered of, who then did all agree
To join in suit unto her Grace, the same to ratify.

Queen Mary's Letter to Queen Elizabeth.

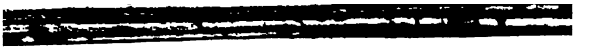
Strickland's Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 200.

FOTHERINGAY, *December* 19, 1586.

MADAME,—Having with difficulty obtained leave from those to whom you have committed me to open to you all I have on my heart, as much for exonerating myself from any illwill, or desire of committing cruelty, or any act of enmity against those with whom I am connected in blood; as also, kindly to communicate to you what I thought would serve you, as

THE BLAIRS PORTRAIT.

To face page 292.



much for your weal and preservation as for the maintenance of the peace and repose of this isle, which can only be injured if you reject my advice. You will credit or disbelieve my discourse, as it seems best to you.

I am resolved to strengthen myself in Christ Jesus alone, who, to those invoking Him with a true heart, never fails in His justice and consolation, especially to those who are bereft of all human aid; such are under His holy protection: to Him be the glory! He has equalled my expectation, having given me heart and strength, *in spe contra spem*, to endure the unjust calumnies, accusations, and condemnations (of those who have no such jurisdiction over me) with a constant resolution to suffer death for upholding the obedience and authority of the Apostolical Roman Catholic Church.

Now, since I have been on your part informed of the sentence of your last meeting of Parliament, Lord Buckhurst and Beale having admonished me to prepare for the end of my long and weary pilgrimage, I beg to return you thanks on my part for these happy tidings and to entreat you to vouchsafe to me certain points for the discharge of my conscience. But since Sir A. Paulet has informed me (though falsely) that you had indulged me by having restored to me my almoner, and the money that they had taken from me, and that the remainder would follow; for all this I would willingly return you thanks, and supplicate still further as a last request, which I have thought for many reasons I ought to ask of you alone, that you will accord this ultimate grace, for

which I should not like to be indebted to any other since I have no hope of finding aught but cruelty from the Puritans, who are at this time, God knows wherefore! the first in authority, and the most bitter against me.

I will accuse no one: nay, I pardon with a sincere heart every one, even as I desire every one may grant forgiveness to me, God the first. But I know that you, more than any one, ought to feel at heart the honour or dishonour of your own blood, and that, moreover, of a queen and the daughter of a king.

Then, Madame, for the sake of that Jesus to whose name all powers bow, I require you to ordain that when my enemies have slaked their black thirst for my innocent blood, you will permit my poor desolated servants altogether to carry away my corpse, to bury it in holy ground with the other queens of France, my predecessors, especially near the late queen, my mother; having this in recollection, that in Scotland the bodies of the kings, my predecessors, have been outraged, and the churches profaned and abolished; and that as I shall suffer in this country, I shall not be given place near the kings, your predecessors, who are mine as well as yours: for according to our religion, we think much of being interred in holy earth. As they tell me that you will in nothing force my conscience nor my religion, and have even conceded me a priest, refuse me not this my last request, that you will permit free sepulchre to this body when the soul is separated, which, when united, could never obtain liberty to live in repose, such as you would procure for yourself; against which repose—before

God I speak—I never aimed a blow: but God will let you see the truth of all after my death.

And because I dread the tyranny of those to whose power you have abandoned me, I entreat you not to permit that execution be done on me without your own knowledge, not for fear of the torment, which I am most ready to suffer, but on account of the reports which will be raised concerning my death unsuspected, and without other witnesses than those who would inflict it, who, I am persuaded, would be of very different qualities from these parties whom I require (being my servants) to stay spectators, and with witnesses of my end in the faith of our sacrament, of my Saviour, and in obedience to His Church. And after all is over, that they together may carry away my poor corpse (as secretly as you please), and speedily withdraw, without taking with them any of my goods except those which in dying I may leave to them, which are little enough for their long and good services.

One jewel that I received of you I shall return to you with my last words, or sooner if you please.

Once more I supplicate you to permit me to send a jewel and a last adieu to my son, with my dying benediction, for of my blessing he has been deprived since you sent me his refusal to enter into the treaty whence I was excluded by his wicked council; this last point I refer to your favourable consideration and conscience as the others, but I ask them in the name of Jesus Christ, and in respect of your consanguinity, and for the sake of King Henry VII., your grandfather and mine, and by the honour of the dignity we both

hold, and of our sex in common, do I implore you to grant these requests.

As to the rest, I think you know that in your name they have taken down my daïs, but afterwards they owned to me that it was not by your commandment, but by the intimation of some of your privy council. I thank God that this wickedness came not from you, and that it serves rather to vent their malice than to afflict me, having made up my mind to die. It is on account of this, and some other things, that they debarred me from writing to you, and after they had done all in their power to degrade me from my rank, they told me "that I was but a mere dead woman, incapable of dignity." God be praised for all!

I could wish that all my papers were brought to you without reserve, that at last it may be manifest to you that the sole care of your safety was not confined to those who are so prompt to persecute me. If you will accord this my last request, I would wish that you would write for them, otherwise they do with them as they choose. And, moreover, I wish that to this, my last request, you will let me know your last reply.

To conclude, I pray God, the just Judge, of His mercy that He will enlighten you with His Holy Spirit, and that He will give you His grace to die in the perfect charity I am disposed to do, and to pardon all those who have caused, or who have co-operated in, my death. Such will be my last prayer to my end, which I esteem myself happy will precede the persecution which I foresee menaces this isle, where God is no longer seriously feared and revered, but

vanity and worldly policy rule and govern all. Yet will I accuse no one, nor give way to presumption. Yet while abandoning this world, and preparing myself for a better, I must remind you that one day you will have to answer for your charge, and for all those whom you doom, and that I desire that my blood and my country may be remembered in that time. For why? From the first days of our capacity to comprehend our duties, we ought to bend our minds to make the things of this world yield to those of eternity!

From Fotheringay, this 19th December 1586.

Your sister and cousin,

Prisoner wrongfully,

MARIE ROYNE.

The Will of the Queen of Scots.

Strickland's Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. ii. p. 237.

[The Will contains clauses relative to the payments of her debts, and of legacies to her servants. The selections given are of more general interest.]

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, being on the point of death, and not having any means of making my will, have myself committed these articles to writing, and I will and desire, that they have the same force, as if they were made in due form.

In the first place, I declare that I die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish faith. First, I desire

that a complete service be performed for my soul in the Church of St. Denis in France, and another in St. Peter's at Rheims, where all my servants are to attend, in such manner as they may be ordered to do by those to whom I have given directions, and who are named therein.

Further, that an annual obit be founded for prayers for my soul in perpetuity, in such place, and after such manner, as shall be deemed most convenient. . . .

I appoint my cousin, the Duke of Guise, principal executor of my will. After him, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, and Monsieur de Ruissieu, my chancellor. . . .

I recommend Marie Paiges, my god-daughter, to my cousin, Madame de Guise, and beg her to take her into her service, and my aunt de Saint Pierre to get Moubray some good situation, or retain her in her service, for the honour of God.

Done this day, 7th February 1587.

MARY, QUEEN.

Queen Mary's Appeal to the Pope for Spiritual Faculties.

[The following document is here printed for the first time, so far as is known to the Editor. It is from a MS. at Blairs College, and is published by kind permission of the Right Reverend the Rector, and with the advantage of revision by the Reverend Professor Welsh. It is dated [158–.]

Cum Serenissima Regina Scotiae multis ab hinc annis in Anglorum haereticorum custodias sit inclusa atque ob id non possit Catholicae Ecclesiae sacramenta

suscipere et rebus divinis praesertim vero missae sacrificio nisi clam et magno cum periculo interesse, supplex petit a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro quam diu in illa custodia retinetur, ut sacredoti catholico suo capellano pro tempore existenti concedatur, facultas non modo exercendi omnia munera episcopalia exceptis ordinis et confirmationis sacramentis, et Chrysmatis consecratione; sed etiam absolvendi ab haeresi, et haereticos poenitentes gremio sanctae matris Ecclesiae reconciliandi; quod frequentes ibi se offerant huiusmodi occasiones.

Deinde cum in hac rerum calamitate ipsi Reginae opus sit ad sua secreta consilia et commercia tractanda et exsequenda, uti opera nonnullorum Anglorum, qui nisi profanis haereticorum et schismaticorum precibus et communioni intersint, vel a praefectis carceris prohiberentur, ne Reginae inservirent, vel non possent ita commode illa consilia et commercia juvare; dignetur Sanctitas Sua sacerdoti capellano, quem Regina delegerit hanc potestatem illos ab omni censura et poena in tali casu absolvendi; et quoties opus fuerit in gratiam Sanctae matris Ecclesiae reducendi; ii tamen, quoad fieri potest, vitare debent impiam huiusmodi communionem et rerum sacrarum prophanationem.

Permittat quoque Sanctitas Sua, ut tales etiam ante absolutionem possint sine scrupulo tum Reginae tum sacerdotis celebrantis et aliorum qui missae intererunt, praesentes adesse in ea missa quae coram Regina, durante ejus captivitate celebrabitur.

Petit etiam Regina, ut 25 numero viri catholici, per eam nominandi, quo commodius et securius ipsi

inserviant, possint sine scrupulo et sine periculo et metu censurarum et peccati, hujusmodi precibus et communionibus hæreticorum interesse, ita tamen, ut cum illis non communicent, ac nefandis illorum actibus ne verbo quidem consentiant.

Concedat quoque sua Beatitudo ipsi Reginæ plenam indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum in forma jubilei, quoties genibus flexis orat confessa coram sacra Eucharistia, vel eam suscipit, ac quoties patienter fert injuriam ab hæreticis sibi illatam; eam dem quoque obtineat indulgentiam in articulo mortis ore dicendo Jesus Maria vel idem corde saltem memorando.

Postremo Regina summis precibus Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum orat, ut quem sibi delegerit sacerdotem, possit ab eo in confessione sacramentali absolvi a cunctibus casibus etiam Sedi Apostolicæ reservatis, atque in bulla coenae Domini contentis.

[It is not known what reply was sent; but the forthcoming volume of "Vatican Papers," to be edited for the Scottish History Society by Father Pollen, S.J., may throw light on the subject. A similar letter will be found in the "Diaries of the English College, Douay," pp. 335–6, (Nutt, 1878). It is dated 1582, and asks privileges for fifty servants.]

TRANSLATION.

Since Her Most Serene Majesty, the Queen of Scotland, has been for these many years a prisoner in the hands of the English heretics, and on that account is unable to receive the sacraments of the Catholic Church, or to be present, except secretly and at great risk, at divine service, and especially at the Sacrifice of the Mass, she humbly supplicates of His Holiness that, so long as she is kept in that restraint:

That to a Catholic priest, her chaplain for the time being,

there may be granted the faculty, not only of exercising all the powers of a bishop, except the sacrament of Orders and Confirmation, and the consecration of the Chrism, but also of absolving from heresy and receiving penitent heretics into the bosom of Holy Mother Church. Such opportunities frequently offer themselves.

Secondly, since, in this sad condition of her affairs, the Queen herself has need, in connection with her secret counsels and negotiations, of the assistance of some Englishmen, who, unless they attend the blasphemous prayers and communion of the heretics, would be excluded, by her gaolers, from the Queen's presence, or would have difficulty in aiding her counsels and plans, let His Holiness grant to a priest, whom the Queen may choose as chaplain, the power of absolving them from all censure and penalty in such circumstances, and restoring, as often as there is need, to the grace of Holy Mother Church, it being understood that, as far as possible, they shall avoid this impious communion and profanation of Holy Things.

Let His Holiness also permit that such persons, even before absolution, may without scruple either to the Queen or to the celebrating priest, or to all others who may be present, be present and assist at the Mass which shall be celebrated in presence of the Queen during her captivity.

The Queen also begs that Catholic men, twenty-five in number, nominated by her, in order that they may serve her more conveniently and safely, may without scruple and without danger or fear of censures and of sin, be present at such prayers and communions of the heretics, it being understood that they shall not communicate with them or give even verbal consent to their nefarious acts.

Let His Holiness grant also to the Queen herself a plenary indulgence and remission of all her sins, in the form of a jubilee, as often as, having confessed her sins, she may pray on bended knees before the Holy Eucharist, or receive it, and as often as she patiently endures injuries inflicted on her by heretics. May she obtain also the same indulgence at the moment of death by

invoking with her lips, Jesu, Maria, or at least meditating on them in her heart.

Finally the Queen begs His Holiness with many prayers, that whomsoever she shall choose as a priest, she may be by him, in sacramental confession, absolved from all censures, even from those reserved to the Holy Apostolic See, and contained in the Bull "Coena Domini."

Poem composed by Queen Mary in view of her Approaching Death.

O Domine Deus, speravi in te!
O care mi Jesu, nunc libera me!
In dura catena, in misera poena desidero,
Languendo, gemendo, et genu flectendo,
Adoro, imploro ut liberes me.

Tr. Mr. Swinburne, Mary Stuart, Act V.

O Lord my God,
I have trusted in thee;
O Jesu my dearest one,
Now set me free.
In prison's oppression,
In sorrow's obsession,
I weary for thee.
With sighing and crying,
Bowed down as dying,
I adore thee, I implore thee, set me free!

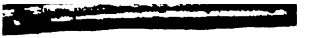
1587.—February 8. Narrative of the Execution, sent to the Court.

Ellis's Letters, Ser. ii. vol. iii. p. 113, from the Lansdowne MS. 51, Art. 46.

First, the said Scottish Queen, being carried by two of Sir Amias Paulett's gentlemen, and the Sheriff

SILVER-GILT HAND-BELL.
Height 4½ inches.
(*Used by Queen Mary in Captivity.*)

To face page 302.



going before her, came most willingly out of her chamber into an entry next the Hall, at which place the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kent, commissioners for the execution, with the two governors of her person, and divers knights and gentlemen did meet her, where they found one of the Scottish Queen's servants, named Melvin, kneeling on his knees, who uttered these words with tears to the Queen of Scots, his mistress, "Madam, it will be the sorrowfullest message that ever I carried, when I shall report that my Queen and dear mistress is dead." Then the Queen of Scots, shedding tears, answered him, "You ought to rejoice rather than weep for that the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thow knowest, Melvin, that all this world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorrows; carry this message from me, and tell my friends that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman and a true Frenchwoman. But God forgive them that have long desired my end; and He that is the true Judge of all secret thoughts knoweth my mind, how that it ever hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have not done anything that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland; and so, good Melvin, farewell;" and kissing him, she bade him pray for her.

Then she turned to the Lords and told them that she had certain requests to make unto them. One was for a sum of money, which she said Sir Amyas Paulet knew of, to be paid to one Curle her servant; next, that all her poor servants might enjoy that

quietly which by her Will and Testament she had given unto them; and lastly, that they might be all well entreated, and sent home safely and honestly into their countries. "And this I do conjure you, my Lords, to do."

Answer was made by Sir Amyas Paulet, "I do well remember the money your Grace speaketh of, and your Grace need not to make any doubt of the not performance of your requests, for I do surely think they shall be granted."

"I have," said she, "one other request to make unto you, my Lords, that you will suffer my poor servants to be present about me, at my death, that they may report when they come into their countries how I died a true woman to my religion."

Then the Earl of Kent, one of the commissioners, answered, "Madam, it cannot well be granted, for that it is feared lest some of them would with speeches both trouble and grieve your Grace, and disquiet the company, of which we have had already some experience, or seek to wipe their napkins in some of your blood, which were not convenient." "My Lord," said the Queen of Scots, "I will give my word and promise for them that they shall not do any such thing as your Lordship has named. Alas! poor souls, it would do them good to bid me farewell. And I hope your Mistress, being a maiden Queen, in regard of womanhood, will suffer me to have some of my own people about me at my death. And I know she hath not given you so straight a commission, but that you may grant me more than this, if I were a far meaner woman than I am." And then

(seeming to be grieved) with some tears uttered these words: "You know that I am cousin to your Queen, and descended from the blood of Henry the Seventh, a married Queen of France, and the anointed Queen of Scotland."

Whereupon, after some consultation, they granted that she might have some of her servants according to her Grace's request, and therefore desired her to make choice of half-a-dozen of her men and women: who presently said that of her men she would have Melvin, her apothecary, her surgeon, and one other old man beside; and of her women, those two that did use to lie in her chamber.

After this, she being supported by Sir Amias's two gentlemen aforesaid, and Melvin carrying up her train, and also accompanied with the Lords, Knights, and Gentleman aforenamed, the Sheriff going before her, she passed out of the entry into the Great Hall, with her countenance careless, importing thereby rather mirth than mournful cheer, and so she willingly stepped up to the scaffold which was prepared for her in the Hall, being two feet high and twelve feet broad, with rails round about, hung and covered with black, with a low stool, long cushion, and block, covered with black also. Then, having the stool brought her, she sat her down; by her, on the right hand, sat the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kent, and on the left hand stood the Sheriff, and before her the two executioners; round about the rails stood Knights, Gentlemen, and others.

Then, silence being made, the Queen's Majesty's Commission for the execution of the Queen of Scots

was openly read by Mr. Beale, clerk of the Council; and these words pronounced by the Assembly, "God save the Queen." During the reading of which Commission the Queen of Scots was silent, listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all; and with as cheerful a countenance as if it had been a pardon from her Majesty for her life; using as much strangeness in word and deed as if she had never known any of the Assembly, or had been ignorant of the English language.

Then one Doctor Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, standing directly before her, without the rail, bending his body with great reverence, began to utter this exhortation following: "Madam, the Queen's most excellent Majesty," &c., and iterating these words three or four times, she told him, "Mr. Dean, I am settled in the ancient Catholic Roman religion, and mind to spend my blood in defence of it." Then Mr. Dean said: "Madam, change your opinion, and repent you of your former wickedness, and settle your faith only in Jesus Christ, by Him to be saved." Then she answered again and again, "Mr. Dean, trouble not yourself any more, for I am settled and resolved in this my religion, and am purposed therein to die." Then the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kent, perceiving her so obstinate, told her that since she would not hear the exhortation begun by Mr. Dean, "We will pray for your Grace, that it stand with God's will you may have your heart lightened, even at the last hour, with the true knowledge of God, and so die therein." Then she answered, "If you will pray for me, my Lords, I will

thank you; but to join in prayer with you I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion."

Then the Lords called for Mr. Dean, who, kneeling on the scaffold stairs, began this prayer, "O most gracious God and merciful Father," &c., all the Assembly, saving the Queen of Scots and her servants, saying after him. During the saying of which prayer, the Queen of Scots, sitting upon a stool, having about her neck an *Agnus Dei*, in her hand a crucifix, at her girdle a pair of beads with a golden cross at the end of them, a Latin book in her hand, began with tears and with loud and fast voice to pray in Latin; and in the midst of her prayers she slided off from her stool, and kneeling, said divers Latin prayers; and after the end of Mr. Dean's prayer, she kneeling, prayed in English to this effect: "For Christ His afflicted Church, and for an end of their troubles; for her son; and for the Queen's Majesty, that she might prosper and serve God aright." She confessed that she hoped to be saved "by and in the blood of Christ, at the foot of whose Crucifix she would shed her blood." Then said the Earl of Kent, "Madam, settle Christ Jesus in your heart, and leave those trumperies." Then she little regarding, or nothing at all, his good counsel, went forward with her prayers, desiring that "God would avert His wrath from this Island, and that He would give her grief and forgiveness for her sins." These, with other prayers she made in English, saying she forgave her enemies with all her heart that had long sought her blood, and desired God to convert them to the truth; and in the end of the prayer she desired all

saints to make intercession for her to Jesus Christ, and so kissing the crucifix, and crossing of her also, said these words: "Even as Thy arms, O Jesus, were spread here upon the Cross, so receive me into Thy arms of mercy, and forgive me all my sins."

Her prayer being ended, the executioners, kneeling, desired her Grace to forgive them her death; who answered, "I forgive you with all my heart, for now, I hope, you shall make an end of all my troubles." Then they, with her two women, helping of her up, began to disrobe her of her apparel; she never changed her countenance, but with smiling cheer she uttered these words, "that she never had such grooms to make her unready, and that she never put off her clothes before such a company."

Then she, being stripped of all her apparel saving her petticoat and kirtle, her two women beholding her made great lamentation, and crying and crossing themselves prayed in Latin; she, turning herself to them, embracing them, said these words in French, "Ne criez vous; j'ay promis pour vous;" and so crossing and kissing them, bade them pray for her, and rejoice and not weep, for that now they should see an end of all their mistress's troubles. Then she, with a smiling countenance, turning to her men servants, as Melvin and the rest, standing upon a bench nigh the scaffold, who sometime weeping, sometime crying out aloud, and continually crossing themselves, prayed in Latin, crossing them with her hand bade them farewell; and wishing them to pray for her even until the last hour.

This done, one of the women having a Corpus

Christi cloth lapped up three-corner ways, kissing it, put it over the Queen of Scots' face, and pinned it fast to the caul of her head. Then the two women departed from her, and she kneeling down upon the cushion most resolutely, and without any token or fear of death, she spake aloud this psalm in Latin, "In te, Domine, confido, non confundar in eternum," &c. [Ps. xxv.]. Then, groping for the block, she laid down her head, putting her chin over the block with both her hands, which holding there, still had been cut off, had they not been espied. Then lying upon the block most quietly, and stretching out her arms, cried, "In manus tuas, Domine," &c., three or four times. Then she lying very still on the block, one of the executioners holding of her slightly with one of his hands, she endured two strokes of the other executioner with an axe, she making very small noise or none at all, and not stirring any part of her from the place where she lay; and so the executioner cut off her head, saving one little grisle, which being cut asunder, he lifted up her head to the view of all the assembly, and bade "God save the Queen." Then her dressing of lawn falling off from her head, it appeared as grey as one of three-score and ten years old, polled very short, her face in a moment being so much altered from the form she had when she was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face. Her lips stirred up and down a quarter of an hour after her head was cut off.

Then Mr. Dean said with a loud voice, "So perish all the Queen's enemies;" and afterwards the Earl of Kent came to the dead body, and standing over

it, with a loud voice said, "Such end of all the Queen's and the Gospel's enemies."

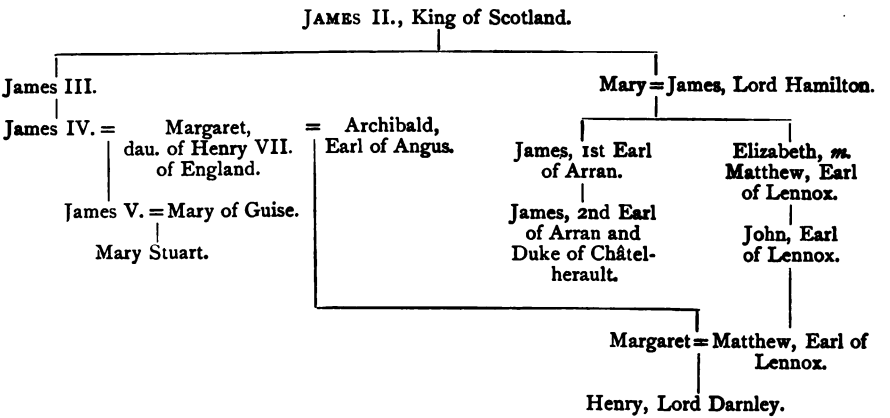
Then one of the executioners pulling off her garters, espied her little dog which was crept under her clothes, which could not be gotten forth but by force, yet afterward would not depart from the dead corpse, but came and lay between her head and her shoulders, which being imbrued with her blood, was carried away and washed, as all things else were that had any blood was either burned or clean washed; and the executioners sent away with money for their fees, not having any one thing that belonged unto her. And so, every man being commanded out of the Hall, except the Sheriff and his men, she was carried by them up into a great chamber lying ready for the surgeons to embalm her.

[A full account of Queen Mary's last days will be found in "The Tragedy of Fotheringay," by the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell-Scott. In August 1587, the Queen was buried, with great ceremony, in Peterborough Cathedral, and, in 1612, was reinterred in Westminster Abbey by her son James VI. and I.]

EFFIGY AT WESTMINSTER.

To face page 310.

(A.) TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF MARY TO LORD DARNLEY AND TO THE DUKE OF CHÂTELHERAULT.


James II., King of Scotland.
James III.
James IV. =
Margaret, dau. of Henry VII. of England.
James V. = Mary of Guise.
Mary Stuart.
= Archibald, Earl of Angus.
Mary = James, Lord Hamilton.
James, 1st Earl of Arran.
James, 2nd Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault.
Elizabeth, m. Matthew, Earl of Lennox.
John, Earl of Lennox.
Margaret = Matthew, Earl of Lennox.
Henry, Lord Darnley.

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(A.) Genealogical Tables.

(B.) Lord Darnley.

(C.) Contemporary Writers.

(D.) Authorities.

(E.) Controversial Books.

(A.) TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF MARY TO LORD DARNLEY AND TO THE DUKE OF CHÂTELHERAULT.

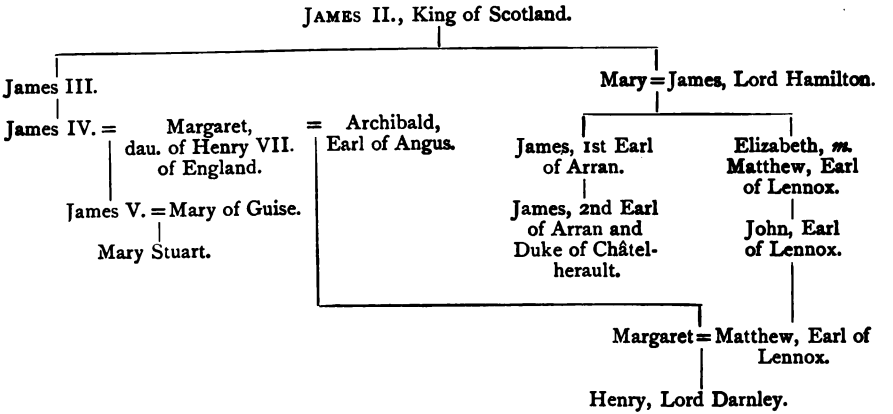
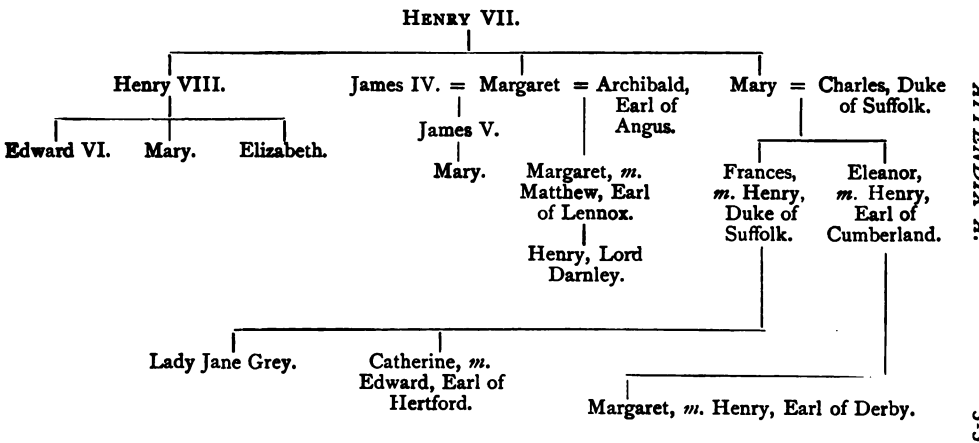

James II., King of Scotland.
James III.
James IV. = Margaret, dau. of Henry VII. of England.
James V. = Mary of Guise.
Mary Stuart.
= Archibald, Earl of Angus.
Mary = James, Lord Hamilton.
James, 1st Earl of Arran.
James, 2nd Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault.
Elizabeth, m. Matthew, Earl of Lennox.
John, Earl of Lennox.
Margaret = Matthew, Earl of Lennox.
Henry, Lord Darnley.

TABLE SHOWING THE POSITION OF MARY AND DARNLEY WITH REGARD TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.



(B.) LORD DARNLEY.

It may be of some interest to collect a few contemporary opinions regarding the unfortunate Lord Darnley. Our best picture of him comes from the pen of the continuator of Knox. "He was of a comely stature, and none was like unto him within this island; he died under the age of one and twenty years; prompt and ready for all games and sports; much given to hawking and hunting, and running of horses, and likewise to playing on the lute; and also to Venus chamber he was liberal enough; he could write and dictate well; but he was somewhat given to wine, and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy; and proud beyond measure, and therefore contemned all others; he had learned to dissemble well enough, being from his youth misled up in Popery" (Laing's "Knox," vol. ii. p. 551). Incidental references to Darnley's character will be found on pp. 47–8, 64–5, 87–8, &c. The author of the "Histoire of James the Sext" wrote of him, "He was a comelie Prince, of a fayre and large stature of bodie, pleasant in countenance, and affable to all men, and devote, weill exercised in martiall pastymes upoun horseback as ony Prince of that age, but was sa facile as he could conceal no secret, although it might tend to his own weill." Of Darnley's literary abilities we possess two indications—a letter written to Mary Tudor, and the following ballad, both printed in Maidment's "Scottish Songs and Ballads," vol. ii. It may be noted that the figure of the turtle-dove or

wood-pigeon occurs in the ballad and in one of the "Casket Letters."

Gife langour makis men licht,
  Or dolour thame decoir,
In earth there is no wicht,*
  May we compair in gloir.
  Gif cairfuill thoftis restoir
My havy heart from sorrow
  I am for evir moir
In joy, both evin and morrow.

Gif plesour be to pance,†
  I playne me nocht opprest,
Or absence micht avance,
  My heart is haill possesst,
  Gif want of quiet rest
From cairis micht me convoy,
  My mynd is nocht mollest,
Bot evir moir in joy.

Thocht that I pance in paine,
  In passing to and fro,
I laubor all in vane,
  For so hes mony mo,
  That hes nocht servit so,
In suting of thair sueit, ‡
  The nar the fyre I go
The grittar is my heit.

* Man. † Think. ‡ Sweet.

The turtour for hir maik,
  Mair dule may nocht indure
Nor I do for hir saik,
  Evin hir quha hes in cure
  My hairt, quhilk salbe sure,
And service to the deid,
  Unto that lady pure,
The well of woman heid.

Schaw shedfull to that sueit
  My pairt so permanent
That no mirth quhill * we meit,
  Sall cause me be content;
  But still my hairt lament,
In sorrowfull siching soir,
  Till tyme sho be present,
Fairweill, I say no moir.
Finis quod King Hary Stewart.

This lament for Darnley (also printed by Maidment) was doubtless used as a political weapon against Queen Mary :—

To Edinburgh about six hours at morn,
  As I was passing pansand out the way;
Ane bonny boy was sore making his moan,
  His sorry song was Oche, and Wallaway!
  That ever I should lyve to see that day,
Ane king at eve, with sceptre, sword and crown;
  At morn but a deformed lump of clay,
With traitors strong so cruelly put down!

* Till.

Then drew I near some tidings for to speir,
And said, My friend, what makis thee sa way.
Bloody Bothwell hath brought our king to beir,
And flatter and fraud with double Dallilay.
At ten houris on Sunday late at een,
When Dalila and Bothwell bade good night,
Off her finger false she threw ane ring,
And said, My Lord, ane token you I plight.

She did depart then with an untrue train,
And then in haste and culverin they let craik,
To teach their feiris to know the appoint time,
About the kinge's lodging for to clap.
To dance that night they said she should not slack,
With leggis licht to hald the wedow walkan;
And baid fra bed until she heard the crack,
Whilk was a sign that her good lord was slain.

O ye that to our kirk have done subscryve,
These Achans try alsweill traist I may,
If ye do not, the tyme will come, belyve,
That God to you will raise some Iosuay;
Whilk shall your bairnis gar sing Wallaway,
And ye your selvis be put down with shame;
Remember on the awesome latter day,
When ye reward shall receive for your blame.

I ken right well ye knaw your duty,
Gif ye do not purge you ane and all,
Then shall I write in pretty poetry,
In Latin laid in style rhetorical;

Which through all Europe shall ring like ane bell,
In the contempt of your malignity.
Fye, flee fra Clynemnestra fell,
For she was never like Penelope.

With Clynemnestra I do not fain to fletch,
Who slew her spouse, the great Agamemnon;
Or with any that Ninu's wife doth match,
Semiramis quha brought her gude lord down.
Quha do abstain fra litigation,
Or from his paper hald aback the pen?
Except he hate our Scottish nation,
Or then stand up and traitors deeds commend?

Now all the woes that Ovid in Ibin,
Into his pretty little book did write,
And many mo be to our Scottsh Queen,
For she the cause is of my doleful dyte.
Sa mot her heart be fillet full of syte,
As Herois was for Leander's death;
Herself to slay for woe who thought delyte,
For Henry's sake to like our Queen was laith.

The dolours als that pierced Dido's heart,
When King Enee from Carthage took the flight;
For the which cause unto a brand she start,
And slew herseif, which was a sorry sight,
Sa might she die as did Creusa bright,
The worthy wife of douty Duke Jason;
Wha brint was in ane garment wrought by slight
Of Medea through incantation

Her laughter light be like to true Thisbe.
When Pyramus she found dead at the well,
In languor like unto Penelope,
For Ulysses who long at Troy did dwell.
Her dolesome death be worse than Jezebel,
Whom through an window surely men did thraw;
Whose blood did lap the cruel hundis fell,
And doggis could her wicked bainis gnaw.

Were I an hound—oh! if she an hare,
And I an cat, and she a little mouse,
And she a bairn, and I a wild wod bear,
I an ferrit, and she cuniculus.
To her I shall be aye contrarius—
When to me Atropus cut the fatal thread,
And fell deithis dartys dolorous,
Then shall our spirits be at mortal feid.

My spirit her spirit shall douke in Phlegethon,
Into that painful filthy flood of hell,
And then in Styx, and Lethe baith anone—
And Cerberus that cruel hound sa fell,
Sall gar her cry with mony gout and yell,
O Wallaway! that ever she was born,
Or with treason by ony manner mell,
Whilk from all bliss should cause her be forlorn.

(C.) CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

The writings of George Buchanan with which we are concerned are his "Detection" of Queen Mary, and his "History of Scotland." Buchanan was the friend and adviser of Mary's

enemies, and his references to her are polemical, not historical. His "Detection" is based on the "Book of Articles" (*cf.* p. 144), and it is not always consistent with the statements in his "History." Sheriff Æneas Mackay admits with regard to it that "it must be deemed a calumnious work." The reader must decide for himself what credit to attach to statements made by Buchanan, and otherwise unattested. He occupies among Mary's accusers the position held by Lesley among her friends. His title to fame is not confined to the Marian controversy. He was a very distinguished humanist, and his writings possess both learning and charm. (*Cf.* Mr. Hume Brown's recent volume entitled "George Buchanan.")

CONAEUS.

George Conn belonged to an Aberdeenshire family of Roman Catholic sympathies, and was educated at Douay, Paris, and Rome. He was Papal agent accredited to Queen Henrietta Maria from 1636 to 1639. He died in 1640. The date of his birth is unknown, and he is not quite strictly a contemporary author. But he lived in Paris at a time when people must have been alive who could remember Queen Mary's residence in France, and his "Life of Mary Stuart," published in 1624, has all the freshness of a contemporary source.

LORD HERRIES.

John Maxwell, fourth Lord Herries, was, although a Protestant, a staunch supporter of Queen Mary. He opposed the Bothwell marriage, but remained faithful after the surrender at Carberry Hill. He joined the Queen after her escape from Lochleven, was present at the Battle of Langside, and accompanied her in her flight to England. In spite of some temporising with her enemies, he was selected, along with the Bishop of Ross, to defend her at York and Westminster, and he was probably involved in the Norfolk plot. When he became convinced of the hopelessness of Mary's cause, he came to an

arrangement with the victorious party, and took a part in politics till his death in 1583. He seems, however, always to have been ready to assist the Queen had there been any chance of success. The actual authorship is not certain. It has been conjectured that the memoirs were commenced by the fifth lord and put into the present shape by the eighth Lord Herries, who continued them.

JOHN KNOX.

The extracts from Knox's "History of the Reformation in Scotland" are interesting as bearing the impress of their author's vigorous personality. But it must be remembered that, as the leader of the Protestant clergy, he was a strong partisan, and his descriptions cannot be accepted literally. Different readers will decide differently as to the credit to be given to Knox's statements. The most valuable addition of Knox is the large one by the late Dr. David Laing, which contains much important annotation. The concluding portion of the "History" is not from Knox's own pen, but is the work of an unknown writer, who is generally described as Knox's Continuator.

JOHN LESLIE.

The Bishop of Ross was a native of Inverness-shire, and was educated at the University of Aberdeen. The first public capacity in which he was employed was as one of a deputation of Roman Catholic nobles to invite Queen Mary to return to Scotland, after the death of Francis II. He became Bishop of Ross in 1566. He rendered his chief services to Queen Mary as one of the agents for her defence at the Conferences at York and Westminster, and he was thereafter involved in most of the schemes for Mary's release. He survived the Queen for nine years, and died in 1596 at Guirtenburg, near Brussels. He was about seventy years of age.

Lesley's chief work is his "History of Scotland from 1437 to 1561." The Scots edition was first published in 1830, but the Latin version, which is more complete, appeared during the

author's lifetime, and was translated into Scots, as early as 1596, by Father James Dalrymple of Regensburg. For the period with which we are concerned Lesley is a contemporary authority; but he wrote with a purpose, and was inclined to exaggeration. His "Defence of Queen Mary's Honour" was a reply to Buchanan's "Detection."

LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie was a cadet of the family of Crawford. He was born about 1500, and died about 1565, and took no part in public affairs. His "History" was not published till 1728. It is a work to which we are indebted for much gossip, and it contains many humorous anecdotes. The writer was a strong Protestant, and shared with many of his contemporaries a fondness for moralising. His book is not absolutely reliable by any means; but in the passage quoted he appears to best advantage.

SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

Sir James Melville had been an attendant on Queen Mary since her childhood. According to tradition, in 1549, when he was fourteen years of age and she seven, he became her page. After some military and diplomatic service he became one of the gentlemen of the Bed Chamber on the Queen's return to Scotland. His two visits to London as ambassador from Mary to Elizabeth are recorded in the passage quoted in the text. After the fall of the Queen Melville attached himself to the ruling party, and was prominent in politics till James's accession to the throne of England. Thereafter, he lived quietly at his estate at Hallhill, in Fife, where he died in 1617. During his retirement he wrote his "Memoirs," which were published by his grandson in 1683. His memory was not invariably trustworthy; but his fascinating style has made his writing one of the most popular chronicles of the time. His picture of the rival queens is one of the most characteristic passages in his work (pp. 46–53).

CLAUDE NAU.

Claude de la Boisselierre Nau was sent by the Cardinal of Lorraine to Queen Mary as a Secretary in 1575. Thenceforward he remained her confidential adviser, although his loyalty to his own interests was more marked than his devotion to his mistress, and he was generally believed to have betrayed her in connection with the Babington conspiracy. After her death he was released by Queen Elizabeth, and entered the service of Henry IV. of France. The MS. known as "Nau's History of Mary Stewart" is in the British Museum, and was printed in 1883 by Father Joseph Stevenson, S.J. The evidence on which Mr. Stevenson attributes it to Nau is given in his introduction.

LORD RUTHVEN.

Patrick, third Lord Ruthven, was one of the Protestant nobles who formed the body known as the "Lords of the Congregation" during the absence of Queen Mary in France. He was not popular even on his own side, for we find mysterious accusations of sorcery and enchantment attaching to his name. At the murder of Rizzio he appeared in the Queen's room, gaunt and haggard, having risen from a sick bed in the neighbouring house. After the murder he fled to England and wrote for the benefit of Queen Elizabeth his "Relation" of the circumstances. He makes numerous accusations against Mary, which have generally been received with suspicion owing to the position of the author as an exiled rebel anxious to justify himself before a foreign sovereign. He died at Newcastle in June 1566, three months after the murder. The "articles" are printed, not only in the "Relation," but in the first column of Goodall's *Examination*, and the third volume of Keith's "History," while those signed by Darnley are copied from the original in the Appendix (p. 641) to the Sixth Report of the Historical MSS. Commissioners.

DIURNAL OF OCCURRENTS.

The "Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland" was first printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1833 (from a MS. then in the possession of Sir John Maxwell of Pollock). It deals with the history of Scotland from 1513 to 1575. During the period with which we are concerned, it is clearly the diary of an Edinburgh citizen, and it is of great value, especially in fixing dates. The anonymous diarist was not a partisan of the Queen, but his work is more impartial than any other of the period. Another contemporary diary, by Robert Birrell, is published in Dalyell's "Fragments of Scottish History," 1798.

GUDE AND GODLY BALLATES.

The controversy of the sixteenth century gave rise to many political songs and ballads, which became known to the Protestant party as the "Gude and Godly Ballates." Most of them were aimed against Roman Catholicism in general, but some are invectives against Queen Mary herself. The specimens given are among the best known. They are slightly earlier in date than the arrival of Mary in Scotland; but they serve to illustrate the bitterness of the struggle.

(D.) AUTHORITIES.

The remaining contemporary authorities are to be found in the letters of ambassadors, and the other diplomatic correspondence of the time. But it must be remembered that a statement can by no means be implicitly believed because it appears in such documents. The circumstances of the writer, his opportunities of obtaining information on the particular topic, his personal prejudices, the impression that he wished to convey to his correspondent, must all be allowed due weight. The correspondence and other information is largely contained in the following books:—

(1.) OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

Acts of Parliament of Scotland.
Reports of the Royal Commission upon Historical MSS.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.
Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, preserved in the Public Record Office.
Calendar of Papers relating to Foreign Affairs, 1542–1587.
Calendar of Papers relating to English Affairs, preserved in the Archives of Simancas.
Calendar of Papers relating to English Affairs, preserved in the Archives of Venice.
Calendar of Border Papers.
The Hamilton Papers.
Calendar of Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1898.

(2.) BOOKS WHICH CONTAIN ORIGINAL LETTERS, &c.

Fœdera, Conventiones, Literæ, &c., inter Reges Angliæ et alios, ed. by Thomas Rymer. London, 1704–1735.
Queen Elizabeth and her Times, by Thomas Wright. London, 1838.
History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, by the Right Rev. Robert Keith, Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Edinburgh, 1734 (reprinted by the Spottiswoode Society).
Miscellaneous State Papers from 1501 *to* 1726, edited by Philip, Earl of Hardwicke. London, 1778.
The Annals of Aboyne, edited by George, 11th Marquis of Huntly. (New Spalding Club.)
Life of Queen Mary, by George Chalmers. London, 1818.
History of Scotland, by William Robertson, D.D.
History of Scotland, by Patrick Fraser Tytler.
Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots, edited by Joseph Robertson.
Examination of the Letters said to have been written by Mary Queen of Scots, to James, Earl of Bothwell, by Walter Goodall, 1744.
History of Scotland, by Malcolm Laing.
Illustrations of British History, by Edmund Lodge.
Elizabeth and Mary, by Fred. Von Raumer.

Original Letters, Illustrative of British History, ed. Ellis.
Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers, by John Hosack, 1870–74.
Mary Queen of Scots, from her Birth to her Flight into England, by D. Hay Fleming.
Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart, ed. Labanoff.
Letters of Mary Stuart, ed. Agnes Strickland.
Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra. London, 1691.
Collections relating to Mary Queen of Scots, by James Anderson.
A Lost Chapter in the Life of Mary Stuart, by John Stuart.
Queen Mary at Jedburgh, by John Small.
Illustrations of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots. (Maitland Club.)
Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse, edited by Teulet.
The Tragedy of Fotheringay, by the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell-Scott.

These are the main authorities. A complete list of publications dealing with the question up to 1700, will be found in "A Bibliography of Works relating to Mary Queen of Scots, 1544–1700," by John Scott, C.B. (Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1896). Very full references will be found in Mr. Hay Fleming's notes. The list of authorities appended to the articles "Mary Stuart," in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, should also be consulted.

(E.) CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.

The general historians who deal with the period—Hume, Robertson, Tytler, Laing, Froude, and Hill Burton—are usually ranked among Queen Mary's opponents. Hume and Froude occupy the most decided position. Among other writers who are definitely against the theory of Mary's innocence, must be reckoned Mignet ("Life of Mary Queen of Scots"), Mr. D. Hay Fleming ("Mary Queen of Scots"), and Mr. T. F. Henderson (articles, "Mary Stuart," "Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley," "James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell," &c., in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*) No one can hope to

understand the present position of the controversy without the writings of Mr. Fleming and Mr. Henderson. Among general controversialists on the side of Queen Mary, may be mentioned the works already quoted, by Walter Goodall, George Chalmers, and John Hosack, William Tytler's "Inquiry into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots" (1790), Whitaker's "Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated" (1778), Miss Agnes Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of Scotland," Mr. Alex. Walker's "Mary, Queen of Scots," Mr. M'Neel-Caird's "Mary Stuart," and Sir John Skelton's "Impeachment of Mary Stuart," "Maitland of Lethington," and "Life of Mary Stuart." Mr. Swinburne's "Mary Queen of Scots" is one of the most attractive works on the subject. The reader will recollect that the "false Duessa" in Spenser's "Faërie Queen" is the Queen of Scots.

The last few years have seen the publication of many important works dealing with the problem of the Casket Letters, *e.g.* :—

Bresslau: "Die Kassettenbriefe der Königin Maria Stuart," in the *Historisches Taschenbuche*, 1882.

Sepp: *Die Kassettenbriefe*, 1884.

Gerde: "Geschichte der Königin Maria Stuart," 1885.

T. F. Henderson: "Casket Letters, and Mary Queen of Scots." 2nd ed. 1890.

Philippson: "Histoire du Règne de Marie Stuart," 1891–92.

The English reader will find the material in Mr. T. F. Henderson's work ample for his purpose. The preface to Mr. Hay Fleming's "Mary Queen of Scots" promises a second volume, which will contain the life in captivity, and, of course, deal with the letters. No Marian apologist has, as yet, attempted an answer to the more recent evidence on the other side, and Hosack's great work is now considerably superseded. The foregoing lists are, of course, selected. A full Bibliography is a great task, not yet attempted.

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